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— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

The League's Business

William E. Mosher Dies Suddenly

The country was deprived of one of its most constructive and broad-gauged minds in the fields of citizenship and enlightened political thought with the death on June 1 of William E. Mosher, dean of the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University.

Dr. Mosher, who was 67, died suddenly at the home of a son, Major Frederick C. Mosher, in Alexandria, Virginia, where he was visiting.

With characteristic versatility, Dr. Mosher made distinguished records in several comparatively unrelated fields. After his education in this country and graduate work abroad, he was author of several works in German which he taught at Oberlin College. His interest turned to public affairs and from 1918 to 1924 he was with the New York City Bureau of Municipal Research and the Institute of Public Administration. He went to the Maxwell School in 1924.

Dr. Mosher was frequently called upon by the federal government and others to serve as an expert consultant on utilities, civil service and postal affairs. In 1934 he was chosen to direct a nation-wide survey of electric power and light rates for the Federal Power Commission. Last year he was given a three-months leave to serve the Foreign Economic Advisory Commission.

A deep, thoughtful and creative student of politics and the problem of developing a responsible citizenry, Dr. Mosher was the author of a number of books and wrote widely on related subjects in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW and other publications. He spoke many times at the League's National Conferences on Government and served as a member of the League's Council and on its committees coping with governmental and civic problems. He was an honorary vice president at the time of his death.

He was vice president of the American Political Science Association in 1937, a member of its council from 1929 to 1931, chairman of the executive committee of the Governmental Research Association in 1939, first president of the American Society for Public Administration in 1940, and president of the Oberlin Alumni Association from 1932 to 1935.

Charter Guide Committee Meeting

The League's committee to develop a guide for city charter commissions scheduled its first meeting for late June in Chicago to begin work on the project, assisted by a grant from the Columbia Foundation. Members of the committee are: Richard S. Childs, chairman of the National Municipal League's Council, *chairman*; William Anderson, chairman, Department of Political Science, University of Minnesota; Edwin A. Cottrell, dean, School of Social Sciences, Stanford University; John N. Edy, city manager, Houston, Texas; Herbert Emmerich, director, Public Administration Clearing House; Arnold Frye, attorney, chairman of the Subcommittee on Style and Draft, Model City Charter Committee; John B. Gage, mayor, Kansas City, Missouri; C. A. Harrell, city manager, Schenectady, New York; Herman Kehrli, director, Bureau of Municipal Research and Service, University of Oregon; George R. Sidwell, staff attorney and charter consultant, Michigan Municipal League; and Alfred Willoughby, executive secretary, National Municipal League.

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

New Spending Spree on the Way

LAST October the REVIEW, cogitating on the apparently irresistable tendency of governments to become entangled in red tape, suggested that it would pay many governments to have a semi-detached agency devoted wholly and positively to the task of eliminating confusion, inefficiency and political perversion.

The recent presidentially proposed office of "business manager" for the federal government[1] could, if given adequate power, perform such functions at the national level with tremendous benefits. The multiplicity of agencies and employees must be cut and most certainly will be; but, unless this is done in an orderly, scientific and thorough manner, it is not unlikely that the public could easily be satisfied with halfway measures.

It is in state and local government, however, that special watchfulness is in order. The recent report[2] of the National Civil Service League warns that the number of employees in these governments, which decreased 3½ per cent since Pearl Harbor, will increase substantially as new public projects are undertaken on an enlarged scale after the war. In a great many instances unfilled vacancies will be filled whether or not they need to be.

"It is estimated," says the report, "that the total number of employees in all branches of government five years after the war may approximate five million, with an annual payroll of eight billion dollars."

"Predatory political machines," the report warns, "will be tempted to use a large part of these five million public places for partisan patronage, and all the more so if opportunities for employment lessen in private enterprise."

This is putting it mildly. Predatory political machines already are tempted, are now wasting public funds in prodigious quantities to "take care of" friends and relatives, and have ever-present plans to use every situation for their selfish advantage.

Many comparatively well informed persons are prone to believe that the appetite for political spoils has diminished, and they cite the impressive spread of the merit system in civil service, the council-manager plan, the career ideal in public service and similar specifics. Unfortunately, it just isn't so. The truth is that there is widespread evidence of the shameless misuse of public funds. It is done more artfully than in "the bad old days" and the political bosses don't talk out of the corners of their mouths any more. A great many of them have graduated from college instead of the corner saloon.

This is not irresponsible guessing. If another Lincoln Steffens should

[1] See p. 337, this issue.
[2] See the REVIEW, June 1945, p. 297.

appear on the scene today, any local bureau of governmental research, any local civic organization, hundreds of able students of government and any number of public employees could give him authentic facts which would be just as shocking as the thievery of a generation ago.

No less an authority on state government than A. E. Buck of the Institute of Public Administration contends[3] that "political jobbery is still rampant in more than half of the states" and that "the turnover of state employees, in some instances, is almost 100 per cent when one party or faction succeeds the opposing party or faction in office. The resulting deterioration in the state services is appalling. But patronage alone does not suffice to keep the political machine oiled and going; money is also necessary. To secure this money knockdowns or turnbacks on state contracts for construction, supplies, materials and equipment are sometimes required of those who do business with the state government."

[3]See *War Time Problems of State and Local Finance,* Chapter I, "Effect of the War on Costs of State Governments," by A. E. Buck. Tax Institute, New York.

This is an understatement. The situation is even worse and in many cities and counties it is still worse. It is slightly alleviated, but only temporarily, by the wartime lack of pressure for soft public jobs.

Watch the pent-up demand which will come as an overwhelming flood the moment there is a recession of private employment opportunities.

Watch those funds which have been set aside for postwar projects in states and cities.

Watch the burgeoning city, county and state payrolls the moment it becomes possible to follow through on postponed public works projects.

Watch the free-spending pressure groups who for the last several years have been put off by the war.

It will be a miracle if in the postwar period we are not beset by the wildest orgy of public spending yet. The situation will be a challenge to public-spirited citizens and to the many statesmen in public life at all levels of government whose attention will likely be distracted and who may be lulled into a feeling of complacency by the diminishing of the federal government plant. State and local government will provide the stage for the next big spree.

Perils of a Military Governor

American officer tells of his varied experiences in bringing order out of chaos to liberated Italian town on heels of the armed forces as Partisans gather guns and hunt down Fascists.

By CAPTAIN ROBERT E. GARRIGAN*

WITH the war in Europe over I feel a responsibility to record a description of the ordinary duties and activities of a civil affairs officer in military government. On the basis of my experience in many towns and cities in Italy I feel that the following story represents a fair average of an Allied Military Government operation.

I arrived in town X north of Bologna late in the afternoon, a few hours after our first troops had liberated it. When I entered the *Municipio* (town hall), the usual destination of an AMG officer on his first visit to a town, I found pandemonium.

The *Partigani* had been having a field day rounding up Fascists and Germans, shooting some, and collecting German ammunition and supplies. They had piled immense quantities of explosives in the piazza in the center of the *Municipio*. Why they selected that spot I cannot understand—unless they considered it the most public for an exhibition. There were several large boxes of dynamite most of which were broken open and their contents scattered around. There were literally thousands of hand grenades, tons of machine guns, rifles, pistols, ammunition and gasoline. There seemed to be enough explosives in this one spot to blow up any medium sized city.

There were hundreds of *Partigani*, male and female, milling around in the ammunition demonstrating to each other how the various types of grenades should function. Most of them had had copious quantities of *vino*, were smoking cigarettes, and were full of excitement at their liberation.

A *Partigano* away from explosives is a fearsome sight in itself. He or she usually has from five to ten potato masher grenades stuffed in a belt around his or her waist and carries every kind of a gun or weapon that the body will support. For the most part they are inexperienced youths without military training and their general over-enthusiastic appearance and the way they handle their weapons gives one near them a sense of confidence comparable to that one would have shooting off sky-rockets in a room full of loose gunpowder.

Most of them got their guns, ribbons and red bandannas well after the Allied troops had passed through their town. Do not misunderstand this. The *Partigani* have done tremendous things for Italy and the

*Prior to his entry into AMG via special training at Harvard University, Captain Garrigan was assistant regional director of the Office of Community War Services—Region VI, comprising Illinois, Indiana and Wisconsin. He had previously been civic secretary of the Chicago City Club. As a civil affairs officer he has seen much of North Africa, including Oran, Algiers and the battlefields around Bizerte, and has helped straighten out more than a hundred Italian communities.

Allies, but like any organization back home 10 per cent of them have done all the work and the others have jumped on the band wagon when victory and security seemed assured.

My first job was quite obvious. I had to get the *Partigani* out of the munitions immediately if I wanted to have a *Municipio* or even a town. My driver and I were the only Allied soldiers present at the time. I asked for the *Capo* (chief) of the *Partigani.* He appeared immediately, and what a sight he was. Any movie portrayal of Pancho Villa at his worst would be a pipsqueak to this bird. I introduced myself according to instructions, "I am the civil affairs officer for this town." That never has any effect but my conscience always makes me do it first anyway. When it brought the usual signs of non-recognition my driver, who speaks some Italian also, added, "He is the military governor of this town."

Picking the Duds

The *Capo,* however, was exhausted from organizing *Partigani* and chasing Germans and possibly from too much celebration also. He had little influence. Nobody paid any attention to the *Carabineri* who were present as the *Partigani* had completely humiliated and discredited them by disarming them. I then tried ridicule on the people in the dump. "Hey, you with all the grenades! You're a fierce looking guy. How many Germans did you kill? How many times were you shot at? When did you first put on those ribbons and that red scarf?"

I was lucky. The first two I examined were real duds and everybody laughed heartily, probably as much at my Italian as at their answers. At any rate, by the time the examination of the second had finished everyone had eased out of the ammunition.

Just as I was beginning to feel comfortable along came two *Pompiere* (fire protection and bomb disposal) carrying a seven-inch unexploded projectile with a damaged fuse by what seemed to me a piece of unravelling five-and-ten-cent-store string. They pointed to it and said for all to hear, "*Molto pericoloso.*" As if they had to tell me! Frankly, I seemed to be the only one who was frightened or the least bit conscious of the situation. The *Pompiere* wanted to know what to do with it. My profanity in Italian is not quite as direct as it might be, but they seemed to understand for they disappeared immediately.

I then began to explain to the *Partigani* leader why he had to disarm his *Partigani.* But that was impossible, he said. There were still any number of uncaptured Germans strolling around the commune, to say nothing of a large number of Fascists some of whom were still sniping. There were no troops in the town to cope with the situation. His argument, therefore, made a little sense. "Well, all right, they can keep their weapons tonight but first thing in the morning we will talk about disarming them. Put more guards on that ammunition pile and don't let anybody in." I knew the guards wouldn't do any good but that was the best I could do.

A sergeant of the F.S.S. (British Counter Intelligence) arrived on the scene. He was in a rage. The American C.I.C. had arrived in town before him. They had arrested every Fascist they could find and placed them under town arrest or in the jail along with the Fascists the *Partigani* had locked up, and to the chagrin of the F.S.S. had taken with them the documents of all the persons arrested.

He was angry also because he could not get adequate responses out of the *Partigani* leader. He insisted that I lock up the *Partigani* leader or agree that he do it, and expressed his opinion very strongly as to what he thought of all *Partigani*. Needless to say, I could not see any wisdom in his suggestion. That conversation came to a close with my lecture number three on why I didn't come to Italy to fight Communists. It is surprising how many people seemingly did.

By this time the president of the National Committee of Liberation appeared. To my questions he replied, yes they had selected a *Sindaco* (mayor). He would arrive tomorrow from hiding. There was no water or light, but there was no problem to their immediate arrival. There was plenty of food except for meat, fats, salt and sugar. The hospital was still functioning. The committee would meet tomorrow morning. There seemed to be no urgent problems so, as it was then about nine in the evening, I looked for a billet and found a small hotel and some food.

Because of the circumstances my driver and I ate in my room. Half way through the meal some shelling started and it seemed that a few came in close. The rest of the meal didn't arrive. The driver went down to investigate. He returned shortly with part of it to say the hotel personnel was in the shelter and probably would not come out for the night. It was a swell shelter and if the shelling continued he was going to sleep there for the night. The hotel proprietor had a beautiful daughter.

The War Goes On

Shortly after the meal a bomb dropped nearby. The ack-ack tended to prove it but I talked myself into the idea that it must be a mistake, that the Germans didn't have a plane left, and crawled into bed. If it was a Jerry he wouldn't be back anyway. The ack-ack would have scared him away. He came back every half hour until five o'clock. He would glide in until he seemingly got directly outside my bedroom window and then open up with his motors and machine guns in an attempt to strafe the convoys moving up the nearby main road. There was no sleep that night.

The next morning I called on the *Partigani* leader. The F.S.S. sergeant was there again and more furious than ever. A Fascist under town arrest had been taken out by the *Partigani* and shot and two more Fascists under town arrest were missing. The *Capo* insisted that none of his *Partigani* did it. He explained there were other brigades and groups of *Partigani* roaming over the countryside, over which he had no control. I believed him. After he had had a night's rest he

really impressed me. I thought I could use him to good advantage. I still refused to concur with the further suggestions of the F.S.S. that he should be locked up. Why lock up the one man who did more than any other to help our side just because three Fascists had been killed after we placed them under arrest. There was no evidence pointing to him and locking him up certainly would not help anybody. I left by informing the *Capo* that the red flag which was hung alongside my British and American flags during the night had to come down.

A search was made for an office after which I attended a meeting of the committee. It was explained to them as politely as possible, too politely, that they were now living under military government, that they should read well the proclamations which had been posted, that I would work with them and so forth. There were the usual questions. The *Sindaco* arrived before the meeting was over. I had previously announced that I would accept him as *Sindaco* if he was the selection of the committee. The *Sindaco* made little difference to me as I knew I would be able to depend on the *Secretario* to get things done.

The first caller in my office was the head priest of the town—a fine old guy, and as usual an able politician. He talked freely about everybody but refused to express himself on the *Partigani*. He knew that he gave me his answers to my questions, however.

The *Marascello* of the *Carabineri* came in. Could the *Carabineri* have their guns back? Was he to continue as the chief police officer of the town? How could he contact his superior? How would he feed his *Carabineri?* What would he do about all the Fascists locked up in jail? How would he feed them? What would he do with the German prisoners? Were the *Carabineri* the police or were the *Partigani* the police? There were a thousand other questions most of which I could not answer. What was he to do about that red flag that was flying outside? Was that still up? I sent him to bring the *Partigani* leader immediately.

The *Capo* Cooperates

By this time the usual crowd of people who had read the proclamations had collected outside my office. During the first few days of AMG operation there are usually hundreds of people milling around outside the CAO's office. They want everything, or permission for everything, most of which you cannot give them. Most of them want passes to travel. The AMG proclamations prohibit people from travelling more than ten kilometers without a pass. No one can issue passes but you. That is the biggest nightmare of the CAO's job. You cannot leave your office door open an inch without a hundred people swarming in yelling for *permessos.*

The *Marascello* arrived with the *Partigani* leader. I started by asking him to find a secretary for me. I felt that our relations would improve if he had an informant in my office. We then talked about cooperation and the need of law and order and the utter foolishness of

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City Seeks War-Housing Control

"Vancouver Plan" demands final say in disposition of government-built stores, utilities, thousands of homes; wants to prevent haphazard development and future slums.

By W. K. PEERY*

THE global war in which we are engaged will leave many scars in the war-boomed communities of the United States when hostilities cease and we return to normal. The city of Vancouver, Washington, is one of those towns that will have more than its share of after-effects. To minimize some of those scars the community, through joint action, has developed its "Vancouver Plan" for the utilization of war housing properties after the war. It is a plan calling for active community participation in decisions relative to land-use and redevelopment.

War housing was singled out for study because that was the biggest enterprise war brought to the community. When the Maritime Commission built a great shipyard here for the Henry Kaiser interests, a yard that was destined to employ at its peak 38,000 persons, housing became an urgent necessity. In a few months the Federal Public Housing Authority built 12,350 family dwellings and dormitory accommodations for 10,000 persons, and private construction added 1,500 more houses. Within fourteen months after the shipyards opened, the population of Vancouver and its immediate suburbs had jumped from 24,000 to 86,000.

These vast housing projects sprawl out over 1,950 acres of land, mostly outside the city because there was not enough land within the corporate limits of Vancouver to accommodate them. Having to use unimproved land for the most part, the government was obliged to build water and sewer systems, an electric distribution system, and many miles of streets and sidewalks. It had to build nine new schools, five child-care centers, eight recreation buildings and five shopping centers. These projects, which we call our six satellite cities, are located from one to four miles from Vancouver's city center.

Since all but 1,000 of the dwellings in the public housing program are of a temporary nature, the Housing Authority of Vancouver had been concerned since the projects were started over what would happen to them after the war.

Primary concern at first was the disposition of temporary dwellings. Would they be sold to syndicates for rental properties, eventually to deteriorate into slums? Or would they be left to rot? Congress disposed of this problem by amending

*Mr. Peery is executive director of the Housing Authority of Vancouver, Washington, and chairman of the Committee on Disposition of War Housing of the National Association of Housing Officials. Previously he had been a private builder, specializing in low-cost homes. Mr. Peery was appointed to the Clark County (Vancouver) Planning Commission in 1935 and was instrumental in the adoption of a zoning ordinance covering land use in the county, which is one of the few of its kind in the country.

the Lanham Act to provide that all temporary structures must be removed from the area when no longer needed for dwelling use. Since then the Federal Public Housing Authority has developed some definite plans for the temporaries. Some can be used for stop-gap housing in other parts of the country and of the world, and others can be converted into buildings of other types. There is a huge salvage value in those that are not adaptable to dismantling and rebuilding.

Small City's Problem

But here are the unsolved problems that still face Vancouver—and every other city in similar circumstances. What of the permanent units of public housing? What of the permanent community buildings, schools, shopping centers and playgrounds? What of the 1,500 acres of land with all utilities that will be left when the temporary houses have been removed?

These are not grievous problems for great cities, because the larger communities can absorb the land quickly. But Vancouver, Washington, is likely to return to "small town" status when the war is over, because its shipyard probably will employ at best only two or three thousand men, if it remains in operation at all. Until new industries locate here, Vancouver can see no appreciable expansion. And the people of the city are worried about what's going to happen to the housing projects.

The worry is over the way the government will dispose of the properties. Will the 1,000 permanents, representing 15 per cent of all permanent housing, public and private, in the community, be dumped on the market for sale to speculators? Will the 1,600 acres of potential home sites in the cleared-off temporary housing projects be unloaded at one time to the highest bidder? Will the result be several thousand home sites thrown on the market in areas the community does not now want to develop?

Many problems are involved in land dumping. In the first place, there are nearly 2,000 home sites in scattered locations within the city of Vancouver that should be developed before an unbridled and unregulated development is permitted in the housing areas. This is good sense from the standpoint of keeping the cost of city services at a minimum, because as sure as suburban housing areas are redeveloped at the expense of city property, there will be pressure to extend the city limits.

There is a need for some postwar public housing in Vancouver which the existing permanents can fill. The community needs additional recreational facilities, cemetery space, a tuberculosis sanitorium, a trade school, a junior college campus, an experimental farm. The housing areas would lend themselves admirably to conversion to these uses.

But what assurance does Vancouver—or any other community—have that the federal government, operating from far-off Washington, D. C., will dispose of the housing properties in such a manner as to help the community realize its ambitions?

In the fall of 1944 the Housing

Authority called together representatives of all local agencies including city and county officials, school board, city and county planning commissions and other interested parties. From that meeting authorization came for an exhaustive study. This was made with the assistance of Joshua Vogel, planning consultant for the Association of Washington Cities and a nationally known authority on city planning. The result was *Vancouver's Plan,* issued in March of this year. The response we have received indicates that our ideas have struck a responsive chord in similar communities throughout the nation.

Constructive Proposals

Briefly, this is what the plan proposes:

1. That the local housing authority be made the government's disposition agent for selling the land suitable for private home sites, that the land be released for use only when the community feels it is needed, that certain restrictions be placed on its use, and that the property be sold at established prices rather than on bids.

2. That the 1,000 permanent houses be sold to the Housing Authority to operate as low-income public housing, or to individuals as the market will absorb them, or both.

3. That an adequate site be made available for a municipal golf course to replace the community's only course which was purchased by the government in 1942 and torn up for a housing project.

4. That a community building and a nearby school building be converted into a junior college campus for an existing institution that plans to expand after the war; and that a large shopping center and maintenance building be converted into a trade school.

5. That other school buildings be made available to the local school district, and that other community centers be retained for public use.

6. That sites be set aside for a sanitorium, a cemetery, a Smith-Hughes experimental farm and a fair grounds.

The plan is unorthodox in that it proposes the federal government make a local organization the agent for disposing of federal properties, and opposition from the federal level is expected on that score. But housing authorities throughout the country have been operating their war housing projects for three years for the federal government, have been making capital expenditures for the government, and have acquired a fund of knowledge of federal procedures and responsibility to federal authority. In the long run, the government would realize more from the sale of land at established prices than if the property were unloaded right after the war, as we understand some agencies are considering.

We in Vancouver do not claim that the mechanical details of our plan are perfect. The principal goal we wish to achieve is local participation in the disposition of these properties. By local participation we do not mean that we will merely "advise" the government. Advice is not enough. We believe we should have the final say as to the use of the properties. We can't afford to

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England Plans Area Changes

Seeks to strengthen local government framework through work of commission to review boundaries within counties and make alterations in accordance with present-day needs.

By SHENA D. SIMON*

IF IT be true that it is as difficult for an American to understand the English system of education as it is for an Englishman to understand the American system of politics, this is not the case with regard to local government. American local government bodies — counties, cities, townships and villages—have their counterpart in the English counties, county boroughs, boroughs, urban and rural district councils and parish councils.

The constitutions and powers of these bodies are not the same in both countries. But the chief difference is that there are no states in England, all local governing bodies deriving their status and powers from general legislation passed by Parliament. This means that they all exercise the same powers, although some of the larger authorities have, by means of private acts of Parliament, additional powers for special purposes. There is not in England the variety in the powers of local authorities which exists in the United States where the different states can grant different powers, and where even within a state charters can, and do, differ considerably.

Another result of the absence of state governments between the national government and the government of the locality is that some functions exercised by the states in America fall in England to the larger local government bodies, i.e., education in county councils and county boroughs.

Local government in England—excluding London which has a special system of its own—is carried on by means of a two-tier system in the counties and a one-tier system in the larger towns. The latter are county boroughs and, as their name suggests, they combine the powers of both counties and boroughs. They are responsible for all the local government services in their area and are quite independent of the county in which they are situated. Some of them, like Birmingham and Liverpool, have populations of about a million, others are much smaller.

Two-Tier System in County

The two-tier system in the county consists of a council, elected from the whole county and exercising certain powers over it all—with the exception of any county borough within its geographical boundaries—combined with boroughs, urban district councils, rural district councils and parish councils. Which of these is found in any part of the county depends partly upon historical chance—in the case of some ancient boroughs, charters were granted by the King hundreds of years ago—

*Lady Simon is the wife of Sir Ernest Simon, well known British industrialist and former Lord Mayor of Manchester. She is an authority on education and has written a number of books on the subject.

and partly upon population. Urban district councils, as the name suggests, govern areas which consist of more concentrated population than rural district councils. Roughly speaking these bodies exercise the same powers over their respective territory—none of them is subordinate to the other but all are subordinate to the county council in certain respects. Thus, although boroughs have their own police force, neither urban districts nor rural districts have them, the county police operating in their districts.

The county council has been for a long time responsible for secondary (high school) education over the whole area, and elementary education in that part of it which is not under a borough or an urban district council. Now, by the new education act, all education is put under the county council.

Parish councils have very limited powers but are important as giving the smallest units a place in the local government system.

All local government bodies have direct access to the national government departments. Because there are no states in England, local government is perhaps of greater importance since these bodies are the only ones which stand between Parliament and the people for whom Parliament legislates. In some respects they are older than Parliament and, although as the country developed many of their functions had to be taken over by the central authority, they are powerful enough to exercise great influence over the laws Parliament passes concerning home affairs. When they come to administer these acts, they are allowed a great deal of discretion, based upon the fact that about half the cost of the services for which they are responsible comes from the rates and half from government grants—namely out of national taxation.

There is another difference between local government in England and in the U.S.A. which should be mentioned. During the last 50 years, two *ad hoc* elected bodies, school boards and poor law guardians, have been abolished and their functions given to county boroughs and county councils. In England opinion has decided against *ad hoc* elected bodies.

Needs Readjustment

It has been clear for some time that local government in England needed readjustment to meet modern conditions. Boundaries that were suitable before the age of motor transport are now out of date, the shift of population to different parts of the country because of the development of new industrial areas has led to a demand for urban powers of government in what were previously rural counties, and the development of services such as education and health has made larger areas necessary if an efficient and varied service is to be available to every one and the cost shared fairly. Public utilities such as water, transport, electricity and gas, which in England are often provided by the municipality, demand larger areas than are necessary for other local government services.

The need after the war for big

developments, particularly with regard to education, town planning, housing and health, would, it was realized, bring to the fore the question of local government areas, and the government was pressed to appoint a Royal Commission to overhaul the whole system. After considering the question, however, and discussing it with the various bodies representing local authorities—who, perhaps naturally, did not agree among themselves as to which bodies should be abolished and which extended—the government issued a *White Paper* which explains the policy they propose to follow. Parliament has debated this *White Paper* and given it general approval.

Review Each County

Instead of another Royal Commission to inquire into the whole subject—the last was appointed twenty years ago—the government proposes to set up a Boundary Commission consisting of about five people to exercise certain powers with regard to the alteration of boundaries. Exactly what these powers are will not be known until the "Directions" in which they will be embodied are laid before Parliament, but an idea of their scope is given in the *White Paper*.

It will be the duty of the Commission to review each county and, unless it considers that the position is satisfactory, it will either make its own proposals for alterations of the areas within a county or examine any proposals put to it. When these concern authorities within a county the Boundary Commission will have power to give a decision. It will, for instance, be able to make alterations to the boundaries of a borough, an urban or rural district council, or transfer part of a borough to an urban or rural district, or to convert a rural district or part of it into an urban district, or to form a new urban or rural district. It will usually, but not always, hold a local inquiry, and its more important decisions will be submitted to the Minister and be subject to review by Parliament.

With regard to major alterations, namely those of boundaries of county boroughs and county councils, the commission will consider them and make recommendations, but in these cases, if there is not agreement, the method by which the alteration is made will be, as at present, by means of a private bill passed through Parliament. That is to say, if the commission recommended that a county borough should extend and take in a piece of the county, the county council could—and probably would—refuse to accept the decision. Recourse would then be made to parliamentary procedure. It is to be hoped, however, that if the Boundary Commission gains the confidence of local authorities time may come when its decision—after a full local inquiry—may be accepted, or that the government in the future may feel, after an experimental period, that it can give it greater powers.

Until that time comes the ordinary constitutional safeguards are maintained, and that will undoubtedly give confidence to county councils who fear encroachments on their territory by the growing cities.

The town planning and housing proposals now being made public by the large cities show that if their citizens are to be properly housed with all the necessary amenities, including private gardens and public parks, there will not be room for them all within existing boundaries. English people are convinced that a separate house with a garden is essential for families with children, and show no inclination to solve the housing problem by building high apartment houses. The proposal to "overspill" the population, which will still work in the city, will give the Boundary Commissioners their greatest problems. Should the parent city be allowed to expand into the county, so as to be able to keep its "overspill" within its own boundaries and still provide for it the necessary social services, or should the "overspill" form a new borough or urban district council within the county, and pay rates to it? The government proposes to issue guidance to the commission to help it to come to decisions upon the best size of an area for satisfactory administration, but it realizes that existing areas cannot always be made to conform to new rules.

Another decision which only Parliament and not the Boundary Commission can give will be on the reduction of the status of ancient charter boroughs. Some of these, like Abingdon near Oxford, are only small towns and should probably be merged in the county, but they are very jealous of their privileges which were granted hundreds of years ago and can be deprived of them only by Parliament itself.

The Boundary Commission is to have power to set up joint boards or joint committees where it feels that a coordination of services between two counties or two county boroughs is desirable, but it is not clear whether it could recommend a more drastic solution of the problem that arises in about six or seven areas of England, namely that of the large "conurbations." Here a collection of towns, county boroughs and boroughs have grown up so close to one another that their boundaries are indistinguishable by the ordinary citizen, yet their governments are separate. Some people think that the best solution is to amalgamate them into one big county borough, which could then delegate certain functions to bodies elected for smaller parts of the area. It is not clear from the *White Paper* whether the Boundary Commission could recommend such a change if it thought it desirable, though it is to be hoped that the consideration of such a solution will be included in its "Directions."

Inquiry Into Finance

Today, about half the cost of local government services comes from local rates and half from government grants, but this average conceals wide variations throughout the country. Fears have been expressed that the new schemes for extension of the social services will prove too heavy a burden for the ratepaper, and an inquiry into the system of local finance has been asked. Though the government realizes that such an inquiry must take place after the war, they promise that, before then,

adjustments will be made in the main grant for general purposes, called the block grant, which is equal to 22½ per cent of all the expenditure by local authorities, and that special financial assistance will also be given to areas which have suffered from extensive war damage.

For special reasons in each case, both London and the county of Middlesex are excluded from the powers of the Boundary Commission.

Local Government Essential

At the beginning of the *White Paper* this passage appears:

> The government are satisfied that, so far from there being any ground for fear that the work of democratic local government may diminish, the real problem for local administrators is how to strengthen its framework to bear greater responsibilities and fulfil new tasks. The solution of this problem turns largely on the capacity and public spirit of the persons who, as members and officers of local authorities, are prepared to devote their services to local government. If throughout the *Paper* emphasis is laid on the need for improving local government machinery, it should be understood that the government's primary aim is to secure an organization which by its fitness for its purpose will attract administrators of the right type, will give them proper scope for their activities, and will ensure fruitful results.

There will be general agreement that this is the big problem which has to be solved. In spite of periodical attacks on local councils and their members, there is widespread belief throughout England that a strong and healthy local government system is essential to the proper working of democracy. The way in which local government has handled many new services during the war—evacuation, billeting, civil defense, the innumerable problems arising after an air raid, management of British restaurants where the general public can supplement its rations by means of extremely good meals at low prices, wartime nurseries—has shown the value of democratically-elected institutions in close touch with the people.

The weaknesses of the system arise usually from the inequality of the financial burden when concentrated on too small a population, and the limited scope of certain services —chiefly hospitals and schools— when the area is too small, and from the fact that the smaller authorities do not always attract the right people to serve on them. The problem is how best to combine the advantages of large areas with the close personal touch that exists in small authorities.

The Boundary Commission will prove an extremely useful experiment, and will show how far the changes necessary to bring local government up to date can be made without arousing too much antagonism. If it fails, Parliament itself will have to face the problem.

Since many of the problems involved are similar to those across the Atlantic, we in England will watch American methods, and perhaps Americans may find something of interest in following ours. A fundamental belief in local government is common to both our democracies.

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Federal Business Manager Idea Gains Support

President Truman Seeks More Efficient Organization

THE proposal that the federal government should include a "general business manager," reporting to the president, has recently received consideration in important quarters. Such a plan was presented some time ago to President Truman by Chairman Ramspeck of the House Civil Service Committee, who reported, "The President is seriously considering the proposal and is very interested in it. It fits in with his desire for better management policies in government."

The suggestion contemplates a special assistant to the president who would be charged with promoting economy and efficiency in the huge federal civil establishment, and who would have authority superior to that of agency heads in certain respects—as to operational methods or procedures, the handling of personnel, and duplication of effort and expense—but who would not determine policy.

President Truman's requests to Congress for greater freedom in organizational adjustment would permit such an innovation, as well as many others. In his special message of May 24, six weeks after his accession to office, he said: "No agency of the executive branch should be exempted from the scope of the legislation, and the legislation should be sufficiently broad and flexible to permit of any form of organizational adjustment, large or small, for which necessity may arise. . . . . Experience has demonstrated that if substantial progress is to be made in these regards it must be done through action initiated or taken by the President. The results achieved under the Economy Act (1932), as amended, the Reorganization Act of 1939, and Title I of the first War Powers Act, 1941, testify to the value of presidential initiative in this field."

He urged that presidential authority to make necessary adjustments in the executive organization, conferred by emergency legislation, be made permanent. Among criticisms of the emergency legislation it was pointed out that some of it required reversion of various duties to the original organization six months after the termination of hostilities—which in some cases would mean the re-establishment of agencies that it would be better not to revive.

As the Congressional session drew near to a summer recess it appeared unlikely that any action on executive reorganization would occur until after the recess.

It is expected that the Byrd economy committee, which has been conducting studies and investigations into federal practices for two years, will in the near future provide a pattern of reorganization into which such a coordinating manager could readily fit, whether or not one is actually advocated.

Demobilization, Reorganization in Federal Civil Service

The National Committee on Postwar Civil Service Problems of the National Civil Service League warns in a recent report that the public service must be reorganized and readjusted so as to cope with the demands of a modern economy, and that unnecessarily cumbersome methods and procedures in the administration of our public personnel systems should no longer be tolerated.

The report was prepared by the subcommittee on demobilization and reorganization, headed by Leonard D. White, president of the American Political Science Association. It states:

"The principal consideration governing the rate of demobilization of federal civilian personnel must be the essential needs of the departments and agencies. Employment should not be continued under pressure from employees except as sound economy and efficient service may require. The civil service should not be made a means of unemployment relief."

It is recommended that a plan be devised for making talent already in the federal government service available to agencies that can best use such talent, rather than recruit new employees from outside the service. Attention should be given, however, to the claims of returning veterans for special consideration for opportunities to compete for public positions filled on a temporary basis during the war period.

Pointing out that it has been the public policy not to include civil service employees under the Social Security Act, the report states that it would appear only fair and reasonable that public employees who are separated from the service without fault of their own should be entitled to some form of unemployment insurance payments for a reasonable period of transition.

New York Senator for Unicameral Legislature

State Senator Thomas C. Desmond, prominent Republican member of the New York legislature, announced June 13 that he will press for establishment of a unicameral legislature in his state. He claimed that a single house would be "a more efficient agency of the people's will" than the present two-chamber body, and that it would save over $2,680,000 annually.

He urged that the Joint Legislative Committee on Legislative Methods, Practices, Procedures and Expenditures[1] would only be drawing the logical conclusion from its studies if it would support a constitutional amendment for a unicameral legislature, and said: "No other reform in the direction of legislative efficiency and economy can be anything but trivial by comparison."

Virginia Holds Limited Constitutional Convention

Members of the nation's armed forces from Virginia were enabled to vote in state and local elections for the duration of the war without payment of poll taxes or registration by action of a special constitutional convention. Members of the convention were elected on April 24 convening on April 30. Many wished the convention to consider permanent repeal of the poll tax. But the ballot question for the referendum was framed in such a way that the people had to vote for a restricted convention or no convention. Numerous lawyers thought this an unconstitutional infringement upon the sovereignty of the convention, but the State Supreme Court ruled otherwise.

Georgia Voters to Pass on Constitution

The proposed new constitution for Georgia[2] will be voted on by the people of that state at the general election in August. Drafted by a special commission, it was approved by the 1945 legislature with few changes.

Constitutional Amendments Shelved in New Jersey

Thirteen proposed amendments to New Jersey's century-old constitution,

[1] See the REVIEW, June 1945, p. 290.
[2] See the REVIEW, February 1945, p. 80, and May 1945, p. 238.

which were drafted by two committees of the legislature and backed by Governor Edge, have been abandoned, at least for the present. They had been advocated in an effort to bring about some measure of state reorganization and modernization following the defeat of the complete new constitution submitted to the voters last November. Although favored by the Republican administration they were opposed by the Republican delegation in the assembly from Essex County, including Newark, which left insufficient support in the legislature.

Nebraska Adopts Merit System, School Retirement Plan

The fifth session of the unicameral legislature of Nebraska which adjourned May 9 adopted a number of measures of permanent and general interest to students of state and local government.

Agitation which has continued for several years bore fruit in the enactment of L.B.143—An Act to Create the Nebraska Merit System. The first section of this act declares its purpose to be "to aid in the efficient and economical administration of the state government through the impartial selection of qualified employees." The provisions of the act apply to the seventeen departments and agencies at present under the control of the governor, but it is expected that other agencies not specifically covered by it will avail themselves of the service provided by the act.

The act is not applicable to any agency receiving funds under laws of the United States requiring the choice of personnel by a merit system as a condition for receiving funds, "except that the Nebraska Merit System Council shall administer any merit system established by such an agency." Present employees in the agencies affected may be covered into the system if they receive a passing score in an examination administered by the director. Veterans are given a preference of five points, or ten if disabled.

The act is to be administered by a Merit System Council of three members named for three-year terms by the governor with the consent of the legislature. Council members are forbidden to be officeholders or candidates or party officials or employees during their term of office. They are paid ten dollars per day and expenses while actually employed.

The detailed administration of the act is in the hands of a director named by the council after an open competitive examination. The act provides for the classification of employees in the state service and the adoption of a schedule of salaries and wages to be approved by the state tax commissioner (who is the state budget officer) after a public hearing.

For many years the school employees of the state have agitated for a retirement system only to find the legislature hostile. The 1945 session, however, adopted a comprehensive act applicable to all school employees of the state. Under the act retirement is compulsory after 35 years of service or at the age of 65 years provided, in the latter case, that employment may be continued year by year beyond the retirement age if desired by the employer. Five per cent of all salaries not in excess of $2,400 are to be paid into the retirement fund. Retirement allowances are to be paid out of the savings annuity which is the actuarial equivalent of the member's accumulated contributions, and from the state treasury in the form of a service annuity calculated at one dollar per month for each year of the employee's service; the total annual payment from

the state treasury shall not exceed $360. The retirement fund is to be administered by the *ex officio* Board of Educational Lands and Funds, consisting of the governor, the superintendent of public instruction, the state treasurer, the secretary of state and the attorney-general. The new act goes into effect July 1 and payments are scheduled to begin September 1.

Another act of more than ordinary interest was that repealing the municipal budget act passed at the 1943 session. This act, while embodying sound principles of local housekeeping, was opposed by the League of Nebraska Municipalities on the ground that compliance with its provisions worked a hardship on many smaller communities whose resources in personnel and money are inadequate. The legislature, however, accompanied the repeal by a resolution directing the legislative council to study the question and bring in a proposal calculated to meet these objections. It is altogether likely that the legislature will pass an acceptable act at the next session.

Other acts of the legislature of interest to local governments are a comprehensive law with respect to local airports, an act authorizing counties to levy a tax to be spent in cooperation with the United States in the building and improvement of principal and secondary feeder roads including rural mail delivery and public school bus routes, a comprehensive county salary law increasing salaries on the average about 10 per cent, an act increasing the maximum monthly amount of blind relief from $30 to $40 and an act providing for an annual instead of a biennial audit of all county offices and appropriating funds to give the state auditor four additional auditors.

LANE W. LANCASTER
University of Nebraska

Racial, Religious Discrimination Outlawed in Three States

Legislatures of New York, New Jersey and Indiana have passed laws designed to prevent discrimination in employment because of race, color, creed or national origin, and certain other states have adopted less specific legislation aimed at such discrimination, according to the Council of State Governments.

New York led the country in establishing the first State Fair Employment Practices Commission under the terms of the Ives-Quinn bill which became law early in March. The five commissioners were recently appointed by Governor Dewey. The law is designed to prevent an employer from refusing to hire, or to discharge, or to discriminate against any individual with regard to terms of employment or compensation because of race, creed, color or national origin, and also prohibits exclusion, expulsion or discrimination by a labor organization against any individual for these reasons. Complaints of violation will be received and investigated by the commission which may issue cease and desist orders that are subject to court review.

The New Jersey bill passed in April is similar in most respects to the New York bill. It provides for the enforcement of the Act's provisions by a newly formed Division Against Discrimination which can be backed up by the courts if necessary. New Jersey also passed six laws banning racial and religious discrimination in schools, municipal hospitals, hotels and places of entertainment.

The Indiana law declares the right of opportunity to obtain employment without discrimination because of race, color, creed, national origin or ancestry. It authorizes the commissioner of labor to make studies of discrimination

and to recommend to the general assembly plans and legislation for its elimination.

In Utah a three-man committee will investigate all forms of discrimination because of race, color or creed in the state; it will study the need for anti-discriminatory legislation and the form which such legislation should take.

Other anti-discrimination bills have been passed by legislatures during the current sessions. An Iowa bill extends the law prohibiting discrimination against men in military uniform to women in military uniform. A Maryland bill equalizes salaries of Negro school supervisors.

Kansas Legislative Council Shows Good Results

Out of 47 recommendations made to the 1945 legislature by the Kansas legislative council 72 per cent were followed by the lawmakers, according to a report of a council committee. Eighteen, or 75' per cent, of 24 bills finally submitted by the council became law, and four others were passed by one house.

The council is a permanent joint committee of the legislature, giving advance consideration to problems likely to confront the coming legislature; it formulates a program for the ensuing session. A committee of two senators and three representatives from the council was responsible this year for the presentation of council recommendations to the proper committee of the legislature.

State Direct Legislation Holds to Average

The Bureau of the Census reports that 34 states submitted 152 legislative propositions to their voters in 1944, which compares with an average of 155 proposals in 34 states in the last three even-numbered years (when more state elections occur) and 61 proposals in eight states in the last three odd-numbered years. Constitutional proposals included in the 152 numbered 130, of which 99 were approved. Of the 22 statutory proposals only ten became law.

Council-Manager Plan News

A state law, authorizing the council-manager plan for **Key West** in place of the present form of government, has been passed by the Florida legislature.

Inasmuch as the legislative representatives from **Tampa, Florida,** and vicinity (Hillsborough County) did not back the proposed city manager bill for that city, the Tampa Better Government Committee has postponed its efforts for the manager plan this year and is concentrating on obtaining a popular referendum on changing the organization of the council from a membership of twelve elected from districts to seven elected at large but required to be residents for two years in given districts which they would be expected to represent.

A council-manager charter for **Sarasota, Florida,** patterned after the model charter of the National Municipal League and that of Tallahassee, has been introduced in the Florida House of Representatives. If carried in the legislature the charter will be submitted to local vote in November. The Sarasota Chamber of Commerce has been active in promoting the manager plan.

Citizens of **Smyrna, Delaware,** at a referendum election on May 22 voted 181 to 9 to empower the town council to employ a manager, thus following the lead of Dover, Milford and Rehoboth. The manager will act as clerk of the council and will have charge of streets and sewers, electric and water plant and the general business of the town,

including collection of taxes (the office of tax collector will be abolished). All employees under his supervision are to be appointed by the mayor and council, however; hence he will evidently not be full-fledged manager in the usually accepted sense.

An organization under the imposing name of the People's League for Government Reform is working for a return to the mayor-aldermen form of government in **Schenectady, New York,** which has had the manager plan since 1936. Petitions are being circulated to restore Plan G, with fourteen aldermen elected from wards, and the mayor, comptroller, treasurer and two assessors to be elected at large. Meanwhile a charter revision committee has been preparing charter changes including election of the mayor and three councilmen at large, and of five other councilmen from districts; but no change as to basic manager plan is proposed. It is expected that the revised charter will be ready for submission to the voters by fall at the latest.

Rochester, Michigan, voting on June 11, defeated a proposed council-manager charter by the narrow margin of six votes out of a total of 271.

The Board of Directors of the Chamber of Commerce of **Red Oak, Iowa,** has recommended to the City Council that it employ a city manager. The *Red Oak Express* endorses the recommendation.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce of **Poplar Bluff, Missouri,** is studying council-manager government for that city.

The Citizens' Good Government Association of **St. Joseph, Missouri,** is initiating a campaign for a charter for Buchanan County, as permitted by the new state constitution, and is particularly interested in the county manager plan.

Petitions calling for an election on the adoption of the manager plan for **Cheyenne, Wyoming,** circulated by the Junior Chamber of Commerce and other civic organizations, have been filed. They are reported to contain signatures of 1,770 voters, as against a minimum requirement of 1,288. The county attorney attacked the legality of the petitions, but they were sustained as legal in a mandamus suit. The constitutionality of the city manager statute has been called in question, however, and is now before the State Supreme Court.

The City Council of **McAllen, Texas,** on May 16 adopted an ordinance providing for appointment of a city manager, who will act also as budget officer and purchasing agent. Bill N. Taylor, formerly manager of Port Arthur, Texas, has been appointed to the position.

Interest in the manager plan is being demonstrated in **Farmington, Michigan; Milledgeville, Georgia; Hattiesburg, Mississippi; Greeley, Colorado; Tillamook, Oregon;** and **Tucumcari, New Mexico.**

Many council-manager cities made outstanding showings in the National Traffic Safety Contest, although none won first place in their population groups. Manager cities receiving awards or honorable mention in various groups were: 250,000 to 500,000, Rochester, New York, and Cincinnati, Ohio; 100,000 to 250,000, Sacramento, California, Yonkers, New York, Wichita, Kansas, Flint and Grand Rapids, Michigan; 50,000 to 100,000, Pasadena, California, New Rochelle, New York, and Cleveland Heights, Ohio; 25,000 to 50,000, Hackensack, New Jersey, and Wichita Falls, Texas; 10,000 to 25,000, Albert Lea, Minnesota, Two Rivers, Wisconsin, McAlester, Oklahoma, Kingsport, Tennessee, Ames, Iowa, Sherman, Texas, Alpena and Birmingham, Michigan, and Reidsville, North Carolina.

In the National Fire Waste Contest, Wichita, Kansas, a manager city, was winner of the grand prize and also of

first place in its population group (100,000—250,000). Other manager cities gaining notice were: 250,000 to 500,000, Cincinnati, Ohio, Rochester, New York, Houston, Texas, and Toledo, Ohio; 100,000 to 250,000, Sacramento, California, and Schenectady, New York; 50,000 to 100,000, Hamilton, Ohio, and Clifton, New Jersey; 20,000 to 50,000, Fort Lauderdale, Florida, Watertown, New York, Charlottesville, Virginia, Newburgh, New York, and Bluefield, West Virginia; under 20,000, Fort Collins, Colorado, Newton, Kansas, and Waynesboro, Virginia.

Chicago Adopts Publicly Owned Transit Plan

The state enabling act to create a municipal corporation for public ownership of local transportation in Chicago and vicinity was approved at the polls on June 4 by a majority of approximately eight to one. The total vote in Chicago was 20 per cent or less of the city's registration. The referendum was taken at the regular election for judges, usually involving few if any contests. The voters also approved a city council ordinance setting up a Metropolitan Transit Authority.

Public Administration Fellowships Announced

The National Training School for Public Service, Inc., of Detroit, Michigan, announces ten or more $1,200 fellowships and a number of tuition scholarships, for the twelve months September 1945—August 1946, to graduate students, men and women, of demonstrated ability and interest in public service; applications close September 1.

The University of Denver announces the eighth annual granting of ten graduate fellowships in government management of $1,200 each for the year beginning September 1945. They must be applied for by September 15.

Researcher's Digest

GRA to Open National Office

Board of Trustees Appoints Secretary

THE president and Board of Trustees of the **Governmental Research Association** have announced the establishment of a permanent secretariat and the opening of a national office at 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City. G. Gordon Tegnell was appointed secretary, and Dr. John F. Sly, consultant.

Established in 1914, the Governmental Research Association is the national organization of individuals professionally engaged in governmental research. Included on its roster are several hundred persons representing more than one hundred privately supported research bureaus and civic agencies, located in 31 states, dedicated to the improvement of government and the reduction of its cost through citizen participation in government and cooperation with officials.

The new permanent office with full-time personnel represents an important step toward a broader and more effective service to the GRA membership. The objectives of the organization are:

> To further the establishment of local governmental research, taxpayer and civic agencies, which, by the collection, analysis and distribution of facts to citizens and officials aid in the improvement of government and the reduction of its cost;
>
> To aid and coordinate the activities of such citizen agencies in the furtherance of their objectives, particularly on the local level, but as applied to state and national governments in so far as those may affect local government;
>
> To encourage the development and use of effective organization and

methods for the administration and operation of government and of common standards for the appraisal of results;

To facilitate the exchange of ideas and experiences and to serve as a clearing house for members with respect to available results of research in government.

To further these objectives, the secretariat will develop a series of publications for the information and guidance of GRA members. It will provide a service center for counsel in the planning and development of projects in governmental research, foster the establishment of additional agencies, maintain field contacts with the membership, develop close association with schools of government and public administration, and encourage training and scholarship in the field of American local government.

Mr. Tegnell, who resides in Short Hills, New Jersey, is a graduate of Wesleyan University and has studied at New York University and Princeton. He was formerly assistant research director of the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce and is author of several studies on New Jersey governments. He is a veteran of this war, having served as an officer in the Navy for more than two years.

Dr. Sly is well known in education and government circles. Secretary of the Princeton Surveys, he has been intimately associated with governmental research for twenty years. He has written extensively on state and local governments. Dr. Sly will act as consultant to the Governmental Research Association, particularly with respect to the program and operations of the secretariat.

The president of the association is Leslie M. Gravlin, director of the Governmental Research Institute, Inc., Hartford, Connecticut. Other officers and trustees are: Loren B. Miller, director, Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research; Alvin A. Burger, research director, New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce; A. E. Buck, Institute of Public Administration, New York City; Carl P. Herbert, director, St. Paul Bureau of Municipal Research. Lennox L. Moak, executive director, Bureau of Governmental Research of New Orleans; and Douglas Sutherland, executive secretary, Chicago Civic Federation.

How Can We Improve Legislative Committees?

The third in a series of studies dealing with *The Legislative Process in Alabama* has been issued by the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama.** *Standing Committees,* as well as the two earlier publications[1], has been prepared by Hallie Farmer, professor of government and history at the Alabama State College for Women. Professor Hallie calls committees "legislative devices of ancient lineage," and points out that they were used in the British Parliament as early as 1340.

Major shortcomings of the system are these: There are too many committees, they frequently are too large, work is not properly distributed among them, rules of both houses could be revised to provide more effectively for their work, committees must have a more effective means of acquiring knowledge of bills upon which they act.

Numerous suggestions are made for improvement in the committee system; for instance, it is suggested that greater efficiency and a saving of time would result from the creation of joint standing committees; the number of committees in each house could be reduced by abolishing those which have out-

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[1] *Legislative Apportionment* and *Local and Private Legislation.*

lived their usefulness and by consolidating those to which few bills have been referred over a period of years. The most effective way to reduce the number of committees, suggests the author, would be to set up one committee for each of the major executive departments.

As to the size of standing committees, Alabama law, in 1932, fixed fifteen as the maximum but in reality the maximum has become the minimum, only five committees containing fewer than fifteen. It is suggested that the maximum size for each committee be provided in the rules of each house and that the rules committees be authorized to set a smaller number wherever feasible.

The tendency seems to be to refer bills to a few important committees to the neglect of others. Suggested solutions include: specify more definitely in the rules the presiding officer's power to refer bills, limit the jurisdiction of such committees as appropriations and judiciary, and elaborate and simplify the procedure whereby private members may appeal from the presiding officer's action in referring bills. Another suggested solution is the sending of all bills on first reading to a committee which would examine the bills and refer them to the proper committees.

The need for knowledge appears most clearly in the committee room, committees turning constantly to the executive departments for information. The legislature needs specialists of its own, suggests Professor Hallie.

Appendices tabulate the size of standing committees for both houses, total committee positions and average number of positions per member, assignments by districts, counties, etc., for the years 1903 to 1943.

What Type City Jail for Baltimore?

"The problem of a new city jail" is bothering the **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc.** Baltimore voters will be asked (November 1946) to approve a bond issue of $2,500,000 for a new jail. But, the commission points out, the first job is to determine just what function a city jail should perform.

At present the Baltimore city jail is a "catch-all and do-all." It is "worn out, inadequate, inefficient and a social and financial liability." According to the grand jury and other investigatory groups, the jail is used as a temporary detention place, a prison, workhouse, hospital and asylum. It is difficult to segregate inmates according to offense, age, condition. Juveniles and first offenders mingle with old and confirmed lawbreakers, minor offenders with more serious offenders, more or less feebleminded with the intelligent, the ablebodied with the infirm.

A study made by the commission emphasizes the need for a comprehensive survey by competent authorities of the entire correctional system. "Not until full consideration has determined exactly what function the institution is to perform and just what physical facilities that function requires, should any definite step be taken towards providing a building or buildings."

Appointment vs. Election

"Is this election necessary?" inquires the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research**, speaking of the city's June 19 primary. Nominations were made for two judges of the State Superior Court (statewide) and for two Orphans' Court judges, one Municipal Court judge, thirteen magistrates, city treasurer, city controller, register of wills, coroner, constables in a number of wards and election officers in all election dis-

tricts. "It is doubtful," says the bureau, "whether there is a single one of these offices that could not be filled without the trouble and expense of popular election, and with at least equal chance of obtaining satisfactory service."

* * *

Help for the Legislator

At the request of California legislators the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California** (Berkeley) has issued four studies dealing with current state problems: *State Organization for Fair Employment Practices,* by John F. Duffy, Jr.; *Problems of the Veteran,* by John F. Duffy, Jr., and Robert W. Binkley, Jr.; *Financial Aspects of Health Insurance,* by Samuel C. May; and *The Role of the States in Postwar Aviation,* by Patricia L. Waterman. According to the bureau, all are "based upon extensive materials which could form the basis of a more detailed report if specifically requested." In keeping with its usual policy of acting as a fact-finding agency, the bureau makes no recommendations.

* * *

Pensions

Pensions for Policemen and Firemen is the title of a study issued by the **Research Department of the Illinois Legislative Council.** It includes a comparative digest of Illinois laws now in force for policemen and firemen, funds in operation, a summary of data on Illinois systems, basic factors in retirement planning and a discussion of the retirement provisions of other states. In keeping with the council's practice no recommendations are made. The study suggests "Alternative Lines of Improvement," however, based on developments in other states.

The **Citizens' Bureau of Milwaukee** has issued a bulletin on "How Other Cities Established a Single Pension System for Firemen, Policemen, and General City Employees." A committee appointed by the Common Council to study the pension situation has recommended that fire and police pension systems be liquidated and the policemen and firemen taken into the city employees' retirement system. It is pointed out that Baltimore, Boston, Cincinnati and San Francisco have already done this and that other cities are in the process of doing so.

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Assessment

A copy of the report of the **Oklahoma County Citizens Re-Assessment Committee** has been sent by the **Research Institute of Oklahoma City** to all its members. The institute's board has expressed full agreement with the committee's recommendations.

These cover two major points: (1) That an over-all equalization of property values for tax purposes be accomplished in Oklahoma City as soon as possible; (2) that this equalization be made under the supervision of the assessor and a committee of local citizens employing professional assistance only in setting up the plan and the mechanics of the operation — using local appraisers, field men and clerical help to carry on all but the most technical phases of the job. The committee suggests that the project will cost between $125,000 and $150,000. The report lists some 46 citizen groups, business organizations and city officials throughout the country who have rendered assistance to the committee.

* * *

State-City

The **Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research** is publishing a series of articles on "The State Constitution and the City of Rochester" in its bulletin, *Municipal Research.* Pertinent sections of the constitution are quoted with such comment as seems desirable.

Fiscal Year

The **St. Louis Governmental Research Institute** suggests that it is time to change the city's fiscal year. It points out that the present fiscal year, beginning on the second Tuesday in April, is of "irregular length as between years which causes serious difficulties in budget preparation and administration." It suggests that a fiscal year running from July 1 to June 30 would coincide with that of the state government under the new constitution and also with that of St. Louis schools.

* * *

Population

Population figures for Detroit have been estimated by a local Population Committee at 1,700,000 as of July 1, 1944, according to a research bulletin of the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research.** Total population for the Detroit area, including Wayne, Oakland, Macomb and Washtenaw Counties, is given as 2,738,200. These figures show an increase of nearly 12 per cent over the 1940 census. The Population Committee's figures for Detroit are also slightly higher than those announced by the Census Bureau in June 1944, when a "sample" census was made. The committee was composed of the following persons: Lent D. Upson, National Training School for Public Service; Stuart Walker, Detroit City Plan Commission; John Stewart, Detroit Board of Commerce; G. Arthur Blakeslee, Detroit Health Department; Leon S. Church, Detroit Edison Company; Rosina Mohaupt, Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research.

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Taxes

Two more studies have been issued by committees of the **Municipal League of Seattle for Governmental Research**—*The City Business and Occupation License Tax* and *Situation in King County Treasurer's Office Relating to Payments and Posting of 1945 Property Tax.* The first includes the distribution of taxpayers, tax yield, annual cost of collection, number of employees, purpose of tax, who pays tax, etc.

The second study summarizes conditions in the King County Treasurer's Office as found by the league's special committee of realtors, title insurance, mortgage, savings and loan concerns, and banks. The committee sent questionnaires to 41 firms handling over 15,000 tax bills involving a million and a half in general property taxes. It discovered that many taxpayers failed to receive tax statements because of incorrect addresses, others found errors in property descriptions or in assessments or taxes due. Many taxpayers discovered that their 1944 and 1945 payments have not yet been posted on any official record.

A basic difficulty, it is stated, is "lack of competent supervision over the operations of mechanical equipment." The committee comes to the conclusion that one man cannot do the job properly. The successful operation of the mechanical equipment requires the undivided attention of a supervisory officer who is not only familiar with the operation of business machines but who also has a clear idea of what they can do and how they can do it. Without reflecting on the capabilities or energy of the present treasurer, who has tried to make the system work effectively, the committee believes that a competent superintendent should be employed, and recommends that the State Tax Commission issue such an order to the King County treasurer. Included in the report is a summary of replies to the questionnaire.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elsie S. Parker

Citizenship Day in Transition?

Few Communities Retain Manitowoc Plan Ideals

CITIZENSHIP Day, as it was once-upon-a-time designated, originated in Manitowoc County, Wisconsin.[1] The day's ceremonies were the climax of weeks of preparation on the part of 21-year-olds for their responsibilities as good citizens. The Wisconsin legislature later endorsed the idea and, in 1940, 38 counties in the state used the plan. The same year Congress passed its resolution calling on the President to proclaim the third Sunday of May as "I am an American Day."

What is "I am an American Day"? According to the *San Francisco Examiner* of May 21, "'I am an American Day,' originally sponsored by *The Examiner* and other Hearst papers, now is an event of deep national significance by proclamation of the President of the United States. It [the celebration on May 20 in San Francisco] was a spectacle of lavish entertainment... Dramatic highlight followed dramatic highlight to send the packed thousands into gales of thunderous laughter and applause. World, state and civic leaders shared—in the American way—the spotlight with some of radio and Hollywood's brightest stars."[2]

On this citizenship day Jack Benny, Rochester, Rita Hayworth in San Francisco; Humphrey Bogart, Lauren "The Look" Bacall, and Sophie Tucker in Chicago; Claude Rains in Springfield, Massachusetts; Gene Krupa in Baltimore—all gave freely of their talents.

Of course, all was not "lavish entertainment." Throughout the country the salute to the flag was given, patriotic songs were sung. Present were veterans, especially wounded veterans, and in Chicago and elsewhere wives and mothers of those who had given their lives in the country's service were honored. In California Governor Warren lauded the ideals of true Americanism; former Governor Herbert H. Lehman, director general of UNRRA, made a plea before New Yorkers for America to feed Europe.

Other ways of featuring the day were observed. In Cleveland the Women's City Club and WAC Mother Association sponsored a program featuring "The Future of Our Returning Service Women" and a seventh war loan rally. As a prelude to its giant "I am an American Day" tribute to new citizens, Baltimore staged a street dance for service men and women the night before. Trenton's program featured a children's pageant.

Parades marked the day in Baltimore, Lexington (Kentucky) and elsewhere. Chicago, in addition to its Hollywood stars, featured a "spectacular pageant of nations participated in by thirty nationality and racial groups attired in native costume, led by 200 Indian braves and members of veterans' organizations." In Detroit the chief assembly was at night in the main auditorium of the Detroit Institute of Art. Other functions and ceremonies were numerous, however, in suburbs and in the city's principal park, Belle Isle, where the *Detroit Times* carried out its own program.

In most communities some small part

[1] See "Citizenship Day in Manitowoc," by S. V. Norton, the REVIEW, July 1939; also "For the Record" (editorial), the REVIEW, June 1944.

[2] No other daily papers in San Francisco reported the celebration.

was played by newly naturalized citizens who were invited to attend and join in the festivities. In Hartford, Connecticut, a hundred newly naturalized citizens were awarded their papers.

Lost in the shuffle—or perhaps in the armed forces—were some two million 21-year-olds—those boys and girls who had attained their majority during the previous year. Only in scattered instances were these young people given specific recognition.

The celebration in Atlanta—in Georgia the voting age has been lowered to eighteen years—emphasized this angle of the day. Ralph McGill, editor of *The Constitution,* admonished the eighteen-year-olds to "vote and study while you're voting and encourage others to go to the ballot box. Become a participating American citizen," he charged them, "and I am convinced that you eighteen-year-olders will improve the ballot."

In Rochester a young man—a returned veteran of the Marshall Islands—and a young woman, recently marking their 21st birthdays, were presented to the assembly. An address in Lexington admonished the young people of the community as well as newly naturalized citizens on their duties as Americans. Dr. Jay J. Sherman, professor of government at Wayne University, Detroit, addressed a gathering in that city on "Registration for Voting—The First Step in Effective Citizenship." Native-born citizens reaching voting age were represented on the program in Cincinnati by speakers chosen from the university.

Sergeant Edgar A. Moore, of Caldwell, Texas, speaking in Seattle, declared: "Speaking for my fellow leathernecks, we are willing to accept the full responsibility of citizenship. We are willing to give our lives for our country as we have seen our buddies do."

Colby Junior College at New London, New Hampshire, observed the day with a chapel service at which those students (girls) who had reached their 21st milestone, or will have reached it by the next election, were awarded diplomas which welcomed them into the "privileges and responsibilities" of citizenship.

But what about the Manitowoc Plan? The report below comes from Dr. R. J. Colbert, one of the originators of Citizenship Day in Manitowoc County, Wisconsin.

Manitowoc Celebration

"Perhaps in half the Wisconsin counties, including Manitowoc County where Citizenship Day had its origin, an attempt was made not only to stage an induction ceremony but to precede it with a program of forums and local discussions dealing with the problems and issues which new voters are expected to help think through.

"It was this educational aspect that was most emphasized in the founding of Citizenship Day. It is recognized that the 21st birthdays of our sons and daughters have more than a personal meaning—they have a significant meaning to our community, state and nation.

"A new voter is entitled, we believe, to a free and frank review of at least two fields of thought.

1. Where and how far have the older voters brought government to date—what are we getting for our tax dollar?
2. What issues and problems am I now as a new voter expected to help think through—beginning with the problems and issues confronting my local government.

"It is quite clear that such a program of adult education, sponsored annually by each succeeding crop of new voters, would do much to deepen and vitalize the citizens' interest in democratic government and in laying more firmly the foundation of a truly pro-

gressive and healthy administration of public affairs.

"The demands of war have absorbed the interests of our local leaders and Citizenship Day did not receive, generally speaking, the thoughtful attention that the times warrant. As the requirements of war relax, however, as servicemen begin to return to civilian life, and as we as citizens are forced to center our attentions on the tremendous job of transition from war economy to peace, this program of forums, round tables and free and frank discussions preceding Citizenship Day will not only make this annual celebration one of the outstanding events of the year in American life but will, we believe, go far toward the building of a more alert citizenry and understanding of citizens' responsibilities. No task in postwar education offers more of a challenge to our schoolmen and civic leaders throughout the nation."

EDITOR'S NOTE—The REVIEW would like to hear from readers who know of instances in which the original ideals of the observance of Citizenship Day were retained and not submerged in super promotion.

Here and There

Annual Meetings

Charter revision was the theme of the 35th annual dinner meeting of the **Seattle Municipal League** held on June 7. Members of the Freeholders' Charter Committee conducted a panel discussion on what they are planning to suggest for the city's government.

The **Minneapolis Taxpayers Association** was addressed by Lawrence M. Hall, four times speaker of the Minnesota House of Representatives, at its annual meeting. Mr. Hall discussed the results of the 1945 legislative session.

The **Detroit Citizens League** held its annual dinner meeting, commemorating 33 years of service to the community, on May 21. The three speakers included Louis H. Schimmel, director of the Municipal Advisory Council of Michigan and chairman of the special commission named by Governor Kelly to investigate and report on the problems of taxation, who spoke on the "Urban-Rural Issue in Michigan"; Edward Connor, executive director of the Citizens Housing and Planning Council, whose subject was "Housing All Our Citizens"; and Dr. Benjamin Jay Bush, whose topic was "Can We Live Together?"

The **New York City League of Women Voters** featured transit problems at its annual meeting. A panel discussion entitled "A Recurring Problem—the 5c Fare" was participated in by Dr. Paul Studenski of New York University; Paul Windels, president of the City Transit Committee and former New York City corporation counsel; C. D. Williams, assistant counsel to the New York City Board of Estimate at the time of unification of subways; Morton Baum, former assistant corporation counsel and tax consultant; and Dr. John Bauer, director of the American Public Utilities Bureau. A distinctive feature of the convention was the kit given to each delegate as she registered for the all-day meeting. On one side of the envelope the program for the day was mimeographed; on the other were listed the names of members of committees responsible for the meeting—convention, board of elections, credentials and registration, nominating, general information, membership, publications, and pages and ushers. Inside the delegates found a chart giving data on New York City's transit system as an aid to following the panel discussion, the budget to be adopted, the League's proposed program, committee reports, and rules governing the convention. Included also was a pad of blank paper for note-making.

Publication on Leadership

The **National Bureau of Civic Research** at Los Angeles has published its 34-page *Civic Conference Leadership: Institutes for Training Leaders,* by Russell H. Ewing. Included is an "Annotated and Classified Bibliography of 316 Books, Pamphlets and Magazine Articles on Leaders and Leadership."

* * *

Chicago's Pocketbook

Looking into Chicago's Pocketbook, issued by the **Chicago Civic Federation,** was prepared to supplement an address by James A. Cunningham, president of the federation, before the **Commercial Club of Chicago.** On the front cover a large wallet is being investigated by four little men of pictorial statistic design. Inside pie and bar charts show financial data on Chicago, Cook County, the Board of Education, and Chicago's numerous taxing districts.

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Candidates Questioned

The fourteen mayoralty candidates running in the Minneapolis spring primary were questioned by the **League of Women Voters** as to their ideas on the adequacy of the city's present charter. All agreed that changes are needed but varied greatly as to how many and how such changes might be achieved. The questionnaire also covered city-county consolidation, public housing, home rule, regional planning, law enforcement, postwar plans and finance. Questions and replies were published by the *Minneapolis Tribune.*

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Strictly Personal

Loyola College, Baltimore, has conferred an LL.D. degree on **William J. Casey,** one of the founders and the guiding spirit and perennial chairman of the Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, in recognition of his work in advancing the efficiency of public administration through effective citizen participation.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Pennsylvania Commission Urges Restudy of Tax, Fiscal Systems

Massachusetts and Maine Review Property Taxes

LATE spring saw reports filed by special commissions established in three states to study state-local fiscal systems and property taxes. In Pennsylvania the broader aspects of local government finances were under scrutiny; in Massachusetts and Maine study was restricted to the property tax.

The investigating agency in Pennsylvania was the Postwar Planning Commission, created by the legislature in the spring of 1943. Its report was undertaken "to review the general condition of public finance in the 5,241 political subdivisions of the commonwealth, to determine the main problems that now call for attention, and to suggest possibilities for their solution." The Commission did not undertake to recommend specific legislation but did make a number of suggestions for further inquiry.

Among other things, it urged that the liquid fuel tax, now going mostly to the state but shared in small part by the counties and second-class townships, be distributed so that the cities, boroughs and townships also get a share. State aid for schools, the subject of a special commission's inquiry, was also listed for re-examination, and it was suggested that a special commission be set up to study the special problems of metropolitan areas.

Continuing study of local governmental problems and finances through expansion of the existing Bureau of

Municipal Affairs in the Department of Internal Affairs was also urged, and the commission requested that the legislature specifically ask the Local Government Commission to study and report to the 1947 legislature on government-owned tax-exempt property, on possible improvements in the present tax collection system—especially in boroughs and townships, on modernization of local government auditing systems, on mandatory local government expenditures, and on the allocation of functions between the state and its subdivisions in order to determine changes yielding greater efficiency and economy.

In Maine, the fifth and final report on property taxes in the state was released by the state tax assessor and handed to the legislature. The conclusions of this study in general recommend procedural changes in property taxation, but hold that "the burden of real estate taxation in the state of Maine does not appear to be disproportionate to income," with the exception of taxes on forest land in municipalities. The report also recommends against immediate elimination of the state levy on property. Additional training of officials, education, and funds for financing assessment procedures are recommended to eliminate existing inequalities in assessments. The present tax on intangibles is described as "unworkable and unsatisfactory" and consideration is urged to lowering the basis of assessment or taxing intangibles at a lower rate assessed against the income.

The Massachusetts report, made by the Special Recess Commission on Real Estate Taxation, reached three conclusions: that real estate in Massachusetts is "grossly, even dangerously" overtaxed, that the cost of government in Massachusetts must be sharply cut, and that legislation should be devised to insure by statute that the cost of government does not rise above present levels. Recommended were a limitation on local expenditures to the average of the five preceding years, except for exceptions for emergency purposes; assumption by the state of 75 per cent of the cost of all relief, exclusive of amounts received from the federal government; a 2 per cent sales tax to finance welfare costs; elimination of the tax on personal property (with adjustment to the realty tax to make it include some fixed utility property now classed as personal); and abandonment by the state of the property tax as a budget-balancing revenue.

Philip H. Cornick, of the Institute of Public Administration, was director of research for the commission.

Chicago Approves Postwar Projects

Chicagoans, notoriously sensitive in matters affecting their pocketbooks, went to the polls on June 4 and joined the procession of cities preparing for large postwar improvements by approving seven bond issues totaling $50,000,000. They also voted yes on a proposal to create a transit authority for the purpose of acquiring ownership and operation on a self-sustaining basis of the privately-owned surface and elevated transit systems.[1]

Six of the bond issues approved will be obligations of the city government and they total $26,000,000. Of this $5,000,000 is for "slum clearance," and will go—together with an approximately equal amount expected to be received from a pending state appropriation of $10,000,000—for acquisition of property needed for rehabilitation or redevelopment of blighted or slum areas. Airport bonds total $15,000,000, to be used for large-scale development of the muni

[1]See page 343, this issue.

cipal airport. Finally, $2,000,000 each was voted for playgrounds and for fire and police department buildings, $1,500,000 for waste disposal equipment, and $500,000 for a city garage and repair shops.

At the same time that the city issues were submitted, the Chicago Park District—which is co-extensive with the city—asked for and secured approval of $24,000,000 of park improvement bonds. To be issued at the rate of $6,000,000 annually, in the period 1946-49, the authorization is part of a $60,000,000 park development program additional portions of which will be submitted to the voters later.

The Park District and the Chicago Sanitary District (which embraces the city and much of the surrounding areas in Cook County) have been frequent borrowers for capital purposes in recent years, but the city itself has incurred little new debt for capital purposes in the last decade and a half. Outside observers, recalling the long period of "tax strikes" in Chicago during the early 1930's and the disgraceful handling of payment of teachers' salaries at the depth of the depression, expected at least some of the proposed bonds to be defeated, but all appear to have passed with comfortable margins.

What obligation will be incurred by the newly authorized transit authority in securing the privately-owned properties is not yet determined, although figures as high as $80,000,000 have been mentioned. The bonds of the authority will be of the revenue type, not eligible for property tax support but payable solely from operating revenues.

Seattle Citizens Survey Budget Laws

In Seattle, where a freeholders commission is drafting a new city charter for submission to the electorate, the Seattle Municipal League has surveyed[2] practices of sixteen cities in Seattle's population group (250,000 to 500,000), with some interesting results as to the safeguards provided to help insure balanced budgets.

In many cities revenue failures are insured against by provision for an overlay or allowance for uncollected taxes or other revenues. The most common allowance is for uncollected property taxes. The city of Newark makes an appropriation in its budget of 10 per cent of the tax levy to absorb possible shortages in tax collections. In Houston the city comptroller usually deducts 10 per cent from the original tax levy as an allowance for tax delinquencies. Kentucky statutes require that the Louisville Board of Aldermen appropriate for the annual budget not over 95 per cent of the tax levy.

The Minneapolis budget revenue estimate is figured on 96 or 97 per cent of the tax levy. Denver budgets only 90 per cent of its estimated tax levies. Other cities make similar provisions in their budgets for tax delinquencies. Seattle anticipates in its annual budget a 100 per cent property tax collection.

In Atlanta a provision in the charter prohibits a revenue estimate for the next year's budget of more than 99 per cent of the previous year's actual collections.

Another budgetary device is the law or custom which exists in most cities prohibiting the making of emergency appropriations during the year in excess of the current year's revenue. Louisville, Dallas, Memphis, Atlanta and Minneapolis cannot make any such emergency appropriations during the year until the original budgeted estimate of revenues has been received in full.

[1]See also June REVIEW, p. 300.

Proportional Representation
Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.
(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Governor Dewey Vetoes Curb on P. R.

Bill Would Have Blocked P.R.-Manager Combinations

GOVERNOR Thomas E. Dewey has vetoed a bill passed by the New York legislature which would have prohibited the submission of a P. R. city charter amendment by petition except as a separate question uncombined with any other proposal. At the present time there is such a limitation on submissions of charter commissions, growing out of the separate submission of P. R. when it was adopted in New York City, but no such restriction on charter proposals submitted by the local legislative body or by petition.

The two times that the right to amend a city charter by petition and popular vote has so far been used successfully in New York State are the adoptions of the city manager form of government in combination with P. R. in Yonkers in 1939 and in Long Beach in 1943. The vetoed bill would have prevented such combined adoptions in the future and forced the submission of the manager plan and P. R. as separate questions.

The bill was actively promoted by the Mayor of Long Beach, who had led two unsuccessful attempts to avert the P. R.-manager government which goes into effect this fall in his city, presumably on the theory that P. R. would be easier to defeat if submitted by itself. The Long Beach experience, however, illustrates why it should remain possible to combine P. R. with other matters in a single question. The Long Beach Citizens Union, which led the successful campaign for adoption of the new plan and the successful defense of it a year later, did not want the city manager plan unless it could get a representative council to choose and control the manager. Separate submissions would have made it impossible to vote for the manager plan without the danger that it would be adopted without P. R. and strengthen the hold of the political machine which has regularly monopolized the council under plurality elections and partisan primaries.

The bill to extend the charter commission restriction to amendments initiated by petition was backed by the Conference of Mayors and introduced by Assemblyman Frank J. Costello of Syracuse, chairman of the Assembly Committee on Cities. By a strange coincidence it immediately followed in its introductory number a bill introduced the same day, on behalf of the New York and Long Beach Citizens Unions, by Assemblyman Joseph F. Carlino of Long Beach, which would have removed the restriction from charter commissions and permitted them to submit P. R. either separately or in combination like any other subject. The Carlino bill, which was similar to a bill that passed the Senate last year under the sponsorship of Senator Thomas C. Desmond of Newburgh, chairman of the Senate Committee on Cities, was killed in committee.

Greetings from Britain

The following welcome cablegram has been received from our friend and mentor John H. Humphreys:

> Annual meeting British Proportional Representation Society June 7 sends cordial greetings to fellow reformers in America. Meeting resolved to press more determinedly during and after general election the cause of just representation.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Legislation Sought for City-County Consolidation

Philadelphia Steps Forward; Birmingham Suggests Study

ANOTHER step toward complete unification of the city and county governments of Philadelphia was taken on May 2 when the Governor signed the county payroll bill which greatly increased the City Council's control over county salaries paid from city treasury funds.

The new law provides that beginning January 1, 1946, the salaries, wages and other compensation of all public officials and employees payable out of the city treasury shall be fixed by ordinance of the City Council. Only two exceptions are made: salaries of elected officials fixed by state law and those of officers and employees of the courts which are fixed by state law or the courts. Hundreds of employees of the county government, whose pay has been fixed under state law by officials, boards and commissions, will now come directly under City Council, the body which levies the taxes and provides the money from which the payrolls are met. This act, states the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, will "go far toward unifying and simplifying Philadelphia's government."

Two bills proposing constitutional amendments to effect the complete consolidation of the city and county governments of Philadelphia, whose boundaries are identical, failed of enactment. Both passed the Senate by unanimous vote but did not get out of committee in the House. One of these bills, introduced by Senator George Woodward of Philadelphia, was the same, except for a slight change, as the amendment originally drafted by the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research and submitted to the voters of the state in 1937. It was defeated by an adverse vote upstate. Its effect would have been to integrate under the mayor and City Council the many county functions now scattered over numerous independent and semi-independent officials and boards.

Home Rule Advocated for St. Louis County

The local Governmental Research Institute is recommending that St. Louis County, adjacent to the city of St. Louis, adopt a home rule charter under provisions of Missouri's new state constitution.

In support of its recommendation the Institute states: "Many of the laws applicable to other counties have proved to be inadequate to meet the needs of St. Louis County. It has been necessary to make frequent requests to the General Assembly for the passage of laws concerning matters that are primarily matters of local concern. In many instances large delegations of officials and citizens have traveled to Jefferson City to explain statutes required only by St. Louis County. Such procedure not only wastes the time and money of local officials and citizens, but it also diverts the attention of legislators from matters of statewide concern.

"In spite of the many statutory provisions applicable only to St. Louis County, its powers and governmental machinery are inadequate for present-day needs. For example, the increasing population of unincorporated areas in the county has given rise to serious problems of health, fire and police. Wellston and Jennings are areas of this type. Although densely populated, they

depend wholly upon volunteer workers for fire protection, and they have no police protection except that provided by the sheriff's office and the constables. The absence of adequate health and sanitation standards in these unincorporated areas presents a hazard to the residents of both the county and St. Louis city. The county now lacks the ordinance-making power to handle such problems."

Montgomery County and Dayton Plan Cooperatively

The Montgomery County, Ohio, Planning Commission, recently organized, has appointed a committee to cooperate with the Dayton Plan Board and other city officials. Most important tasks of the County Planning Commission which will require close integration with the city include relief of traffic congestion through rerouting highways around the city, control of water supply and sewage disposal in the county, and control of subdivisions through zoning in the suburban areas.

Washington Adopts Scientific Allocation of County Road Funds

In order to enable it to make its biennial distribution of county road funds on a scientific and nonpartisan basis, the Washington state legislature has adopted a formula whereby three factors are weighted in regard to their relative significance to road repair and construction programs. The formula was developed by the Public Administration Service after a nine-months study and survey. The formula gives county trunk mileage a value of 70 per cent, motor vehicle registration a value of 20, and an equalization factor a value of 10 per cent to encourage smaller counties to organize and administer road programs at acceptable standards.

Two Wisconsin Counties Adopt Merit System

Resolutions establishing merit system programs have been adopted in Wood and Outagamie Counties, Wisconsin. In the former the resolution applies only to county highway patrolmen. The Outagamie resolution requires the establishment of a merit system covering all county employees. Employees with six months or more of service accumulated prior to adoption of the resolution automatically receive civil service status. The Wisconsin State Bureau of Personnel is responsible for classifying all positions under the program. Open competitive examinations and the certification of eligibles to fill vacancies in the county service also will be administered by the state bureau.

Wisconsin Interim Committee on County Government

As a result of a joint resolution passed by the two houses of the Wisconsin state legislature, an interim committee has been established to study the question of county government. The committee will make its report to the 1947 legislature.

Arlington County May Become City

The Arlington County Board of Supervisors has passed by unanimous vote a resolution which may transform Arlington County into a Virginia city of the first class. The resolution calls upon the circuit court judge to appoint a charter commission of not less than five county voters to hold public hearings and prepare a draft of the charter. The draft would be presented to the next session of the General Assembly, and if approved it would be submitted to popular referendum in the county.

Local Affairs Abroad

Edited by Edward W. Weidner

Local Government Trends in Australia

The Problem of Area in Relation to Function

THROUGHOUT Australia, local government is organized on the basis of municipal councils to manage urban affairs and shire councils for rural affairs. Municipal areas are usually restricted to about nine square miles while shires may administer areas of several hundred square miles.

For historical and other reasons local government in Australia is restricted in scope. Police, education, transport, justice and social services are administered by the several state governments on a rigidly centralized pattern. Fire protection, harbor facilities, main roads, water conservation and irrigation, electricity, water and sewerage are usually committed to statutory corporations, and only in a few cases are some of these services tied into the local government structure.

Just after World War I an experiment was made in New South Wales with another municipal area called the county district. It was found that a river in northern New South Wales was being obstructed by a luxuriant growth of water hyacinth which impeded navigation. The contiguous municipal and shire councils found the task of eradicating the growth beyond their separate capacities. It was decided to delegate the job to a county district council composed of representatives of the constituent councils which also delegated to the county council the right to levy a rate and borrow money to do the work on their behalf. The experiment was a signal success and this led to the creation of several other county districts for the similar cooperative handling of a service which could not be done as well by individual councils.

The county council was not different in kind from the ordinary statutory corporation save that it was a purely local government agency. It was confined to a single function and it derived its power by delegation from the constituent local governing bodies. From time to time there have been suggestions that the county council should become a compendious authority, introducing another level of local government above the municipality and the shire. It was not until 1944, however, that an initial move was made. A county district to embrace the Blue Mountain area immediately west of Sydney, the capital of New South Wales, was formed to administer seven separate functions including water supply, sewerage disposal, retail sale of electricity, development of tourist resorts, and the construction of roads other than main roads.

If this experiment succeeds it may pave the way for the creation of another local government authority in a country that has been disinclined to experiment with areas and functions, other than using the device of the *ad hoc* statutory authority under central governmental jurisdiction.

Another line of thought is looking to the region as the desirable type of larger local government area. This must be appraised against the background of size and resources. There are upwards of a thousand local government councils functioning in the six states whose areas range from 26,000 square miles for Tasmania to nearly a million square miles in Western Australia. New South Wales comprises 310,000 and Victoria, the next most populous state, has 87,000 square miles. The

Northern Territory with 523,000 square miles has no local government institutions of any kind and is administered from Canberra, over a thousand miles away. South Australia embraces 310,000 square miles and Queensland 670,000.

Population is unevenly distributed but clusters round the seaboard, principally that of the eastern states. There are only 25 towns with more than 10,000 people and of these towns New South Wales accounts for eleven and Queensland for eight. Three states have each only one town of more than 10,000 people. On the other hand, the six capital cities contain almost 50 per cent of the entire population of the commonwealth.

There are two schools of thought attracted to the regional idea. There are those who believe in unification, and believe that if the existing federal system could be scrapped, the place of the states could be taken by a number of regional authorities. On the other hand, there are those who believe that the federal system will function more efficiently if the centralized administrations based upon Canberra and the six state capitals were to devolve the administration of many governmental functions upon local authorities. Since the existing municipal and shire councils are too small and lack adequate financial and administrative resources, and since the county councils have not yet developed into all-purpose authorities, they look to the region as the only suitable alternative to the centralized system.

The latter school of thought was sufficiently organized to force the Postwar Reconstruction Division of the federal government to consider the desirability of creating regions to facilitate postwar rehabilitation and development.

At a Premiers' conference held at Canberra in October 1944, immediately after the refusal of the people to agree to a referendum which proposed to enlarge the powers of the federal government at the expense of the states, it was unanimously agreed that the states should appoint regional boundaries committees to survey the resources of the several states by regions which were to be delineated by the regional boundaries committees. This delineation has now been completed in some of the states. In New South Wales seventeen such regions have been mapped. In each region a committee has been appointed by the government comprising representatives of the central departments and of local residents in the region, and detailed surveys of resources are now proceeding.

Whether the regions will develop into autonomous local authorities, as is desired by those who seek an extension of local government, is uncertain. One resolution passed at the Premiers' conference declared that the new regional committees "should be available to assist and advise commonwealth and state authorities, through state government channels, on regional aspects of policy and administration." It is obvious that this emphasizes the traditional centralized outlook rather than that of local government. If the vested interests of centralized politics and administration prevail, local government will cease to have any future in Australia.

Town Planning

This belief in centralization found expression in two bills brought down in the state legislature of New South Wales early in 1945. While giving lip service to the idea of local government, other provisions provided for an extension of central control over local authorities. This was especially the case with the town planning bill which proposed to give the Minister for Local

Government power to assume the functions of metropolitan councils and to prepare schemes for town planning himself. This particular proposal was defeated and finally the bill emerged as an enactment authorizing the creation of a Metropolitan County Council to prepare a town planning scheme for the approval of the Minister.

Another bill was passed which authorized the State Main Roads Board, a statutory authority for the construction of main and developmental roads, to demand that municipal councils seek the approval of the Main Roads Board to any expenditure upon roads from their own funds in excess of five thousand pounds. This means that the Main Roads Board, which is responsible for only 12,000 miles of roads, will also be able to control the municipal and shire councils which have the care of over 100,000 miles in the state of New South Wales.

Similar developments are occurring with respect to harbors and rivers. The Maritime Services Board, which controls the Port of Sydney, is reaching out to take over the control of all harbors from local authorities, while the central Public Works Department is claiming to be regarded as the state public works authority and to act as agent for existing municipal and shire councils for all capital works of any size.

Summer School

These challenges to the continued existence of local government as an integral part of public administration aroused municipal authorities to take action to stem the tide and to inform public opinion of the trends and dangers involved. As one method of doing this, there was organized at Sydney University in April a summer school on local government. The school was opened by the Governor of New South Wales, the Lord Wakehurst, who also read the first paper comparing recent developments in England with trends in Australia. Other papers were read by Professor F. A. Bland; R. Windeyer, K. C.; Hon. E. S. Spooner, a former Minister for Local Government; and by Councillor E. S. Shaw, president of the Local Government Association of New South Wales. The papers are to be published in book form, and already the publicity achieved by the school is having a beneficial effect in arousing public attention to the danger to democratic institutions if they have no sound basis in local government.

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Local Government Affairs in New Zealand

Mayors, councillors and town clerks of New Zealand held a municipal conference last November at which action on many suggestions was taken. Among the more important recommendations of the clerk's conference were the favoring of the annual system of rating and proposals to have all municipal elections held on the same day, to allow all local employees to appeal to an independent board against their dismissal and to repeal the law permitting local employees to run for local office.

Conference Recommendations

The municipal conference as a whole recommended that the parliamentary Select Committee investigating local government reform be abolished and a royal commission established in its place,[1] that fire services be municipally controlled,[2] that all hospital and charitable aid costs be paid out of the social security fund and not in part by local rates,[2] that retirement provisions for local employees be liberalized, that the

[1]See the Review, September 1944, p. 434.
[2]See the Review, January 1945, p. 52.

central government be urged to build houses in small suburban areas where acute housing shortages exist, and that the principle of regional planning be approved. In addition other resolutions called upon the government to further rural electrification and soil erosion programs.

The conference was addressed by Dr. Leslie Lipson, professor of political science and public administration at Victoria University College, on the subject of reconstruction in local government. He suggested two principal reforms: (1) fewer *ad hoc* authorities and larger areas for general purpose authorities; (2) establishment of local personnel systems under control of the town clerks, including a unified system of recruiting, examining, training and promoting.

County Councils Proposals

In a memorandum submitted to the select committee investigating local government reform in New Zealand, the County Councils Association suggested that functions of several kinds of *ad hoc* units of rural government be given to the counties and that some consolidation among counties be encouraged. The association favored alleviation of hospital rating and proposed that the central government pay full rates on land it owned. It repeated its opposition to last year's legislation which permitted all residents as well as ratepayers to vote in local elections.

Local Government Trends

Consolidation of various units of government in two urban areas is being considered. . . . A trend toward more free public libraries and a larger number of libraries is in evidence. . . . Local units have been authorized to conduct emergency farming activities. . . . A milk bill giving central compulsory control over milk sanitation standards has been introduced as a result of municipalities failing to act adequately. . . . The central government intends to establish regional councils to consider postwar reconstruction and redevelopment problems. . . . A recent housing survey has revealed that only 700 of the 352,000 houses in New Zealand have been built by local governments.

American Committee of IULA Meets

At the April meeting of the American Committee for the International Union of Local Authorities, Chairman Louis Brownlow stated that in the future the work of the IULA would probably be undertaken along regional organization lines. The large congresses would be held regionally and smaller meetings attended by delegated members would be organized on a worldwide basis.

Former Mayor Daniel Hoan of Milwaukee made two suggestions for municipalities in this country in their relations with Latin Americans. First, he suggested that through organizations represented by the members of the American Committee, an attempt be made to bring about recognition of Pan-American Day. Secondly, some action should be taken to encourage the creation of welcoming committees in cities and municipalities, under the auspices of mayors and the chief executives, so that we may reciprocate something of the same sort of hospitality that Latin Americans would extend.

Czech Election Reforms Instituted

Equal voting rights for women, reduction of the voting age to eighteen, and extension of the franchise to include members of the armed forces are some of the reforms being introduced in Czechoslovakia. Former collaborationists cannot hold political office or vote.

On the basis of this extended electorate, local national committees are

being elected except in districts with a majority of unreliable non-Slavonic population which are being temporarily governed by an administration especially appointed for the purpose. From local committees district committees are being elected, while the district committees are electing provincial committees. Dr. Edvard Benes has repeatedly expressed a desire to thoroughly decentralize the work of the Czechoslovak government.

News in Brief

Education in England

The Minister of Education has announced that central government grants for the year 1945-1946 are to be at an average of 55 per cent of local education expenses, an increase of about 5 per cent. Meanwhile the Minister issued a final list of excepted districts under the new education act. Forty-five non-county boroughs and urban districts in England and Wales will be excepted from the elementary and secondary education plans of the counties in which they are situated.

Scottish Planning

Glasgow City Council has found three objections to the Town and Country Planning (Scotland) Bill: (1) no financial assistance to local governments is provided; (2) too much power is vested in the Secretary of State for Scotland; (3) the provisions giving a local government power to acquire land outside its boundaries are not clear.

Australian Municipal Elections

According to the *Shire and Municipal* (Australia) recent local elections were characterized by the large number of votes cast and the defeat of many candidates who relied primarily upon party endorsement for election.

Planning in Latin America

A trend toward more extensive exercise of local planning and zoning powers is indicated in Peru, Puerto Rico and Buenos Aires according to reports in *Boletin, the Municipal Digest of the Americas.*

English Bills' Progress

The Representation of the People Bill and the Compensation of Displaced Officers (War Service) Bill have been enacted into law. The Local Authorities Loans Bill has been read a third time in the House of Lords and the Wages Councils Bill has passed the committee stage in the House of Lords. The Water Bill has been given a second reading in the House of Commons.

Recent Publications

The Slums Are Still With Us is the title of a recent Opportunity Clubs booklet presenting in brief some of the housing problems confronting Australia, and suggesting possible solutions. British Information Service has issued *Whitechester, England, A Town at War,* a booklet about an imaginary English town and the problems that confronted it during the European war.

English Housing

Housing is one of the most important domestic issues in the current election in England. Recently the Minister of Health announced that the government plans to deliver to localities all temporary houses which have been applied for and allocated—some 100,000 in England and Wales. Delivery has been speeded by the promise of the United States to send 30,000 houses, similar to the temporary war housing in existence here. By the middle of March, however, 70,000 to 80,000 sites for the 100,000 temporary houses had not yet been developed.

The permanent housing program was somewhat further advanced at that time. Land for 240,000 houses had been acquired by local governments and layout plans had been prepared for 90,000.

Books in Review

Relationship of Budgeting to Planning and Management. Unit IV of **Budgeting: An Instrument of Planning and Management.** By Catheryn Seckler-Hudson. Washington, D. C., American University, 1945. 248 pp. $2.

This "unit" is the sixth in this series of seven mimeographed volumes on governmental planning and management through budgeting.[1] The present unit, to even a larger extent than some of the volumes previously published, relies on the experience of the United States Bureau of the Budget. In fact, it contains no general appeal to local, state or foreign practice. In the opinion of this reviewer, however, most of the 21 discussions in the symposium contain ideas as significant for city or state as for federal government administration.

The plan of arrangement provides for presentation of the general idea of using the budget to achieve unified executive control over a government's work. This first half of the volume is followed by several specific applications of this practice. The concluding chapters show how particular divisions contribute to the bureau's overall planning and management functions.

Despite the limitations of the symposium method of securing a well rounded view of complicated subject matter, this unit appears to be successful at the expense of comparatively little duplication. Indeed, except for the first unit, this one is perhaps the most generally useful of all the six volumes now available. And the whole collection is highly important for the future of governmental administration.

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[1]For a review of Units I, III, and V see the Review, September 1944, p. 435.

Planning for Postwar Municipal Services. An Analysis of Problems and Trends with Suggestions for Developing Local Policies. Chicago, The International City Managers' Association, 1945. v, 90 pp. $2.

The purpose of this study is to analyze some of the current and probable future problems and trends in fields of municipal government and to suggest ideas to stimulate municipal administrators and councils in developing sound local policies and plans for improving local services. Leading authorities in the various local fields outline the extent of municipal responsibility, anticipate postwar conditions and needs, indicate services that may be expanded, abandoned or transferred to other units, suggest questions and problems that should be answered locally, and outline methods of making plans. Chapters in the study have already appeared as articles in *Public Management,* the last in April 1945. A list of selected references is added. The study was a project of the Committee on Wartime and Postwar Planning of the International City Managers' Association.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Accounting Machines

Use of Electric Accounting Machine Equipment by the City of Bridgeport. Bridgeport, Connecticut, The Comptroller, 1945. 52 pp.

Airports

A National Airport Program. Report Submitted to the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. Washington, D. C., The United States Conference of Mayors, 1945. 35 pp.

Bibliography

Recent Publications of Governmental Problems. By Joint Reference Library. Chicago 37, Council of State Governments, 1945. 7 pp.

Budgets

State Budgets for 1946 and 1947. Biennial and Annual Budgets Presented to 1945 Legislatures. By N. B. Gerry and Howard S. Ryan. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1945. 12 pp.

Council-Manager Plan

Recent Council-Manager Developments and Directory of Council-Manager Cities. Chicago, The International City Managers' Association, 1945. 16 pp. $1.

Education

Should the Federal Government Subsidize Education? New Jersey's Answer. By Alvin A. Burger. Newark 2, New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, 1945. 16 pp.

Efficiency

The Daily Trip to Work: A Bibliography. By Katherine McNamara. Cambridge, Harvard University, Library of the Departments of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, 1945. 1 p.

Work Simplification. As Exemplified by the Work Simplification Program of the U. S. Bureau of the Budget. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1945. 49 pp. Illus. $1.

Employment

Fiscal Policy for Full Employment. By John H. G. Pierson. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1945. 54 pp. 25 cents.

Public Employment and Pay Rolls in the United States, 1929-39, and Post-war Implications. By Carol P. Brainerd. Washington, D. C., United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1945. 31 pp.

International Affairs

The Stakes of Bretton Woods. A Statement by The Committee on International Policy. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1945. 24 pp.

Land Use

Confronting the Land Question. By Jackson H. Ralston. Bayside, New York, The American Association for Scientific Taxation. xxi, 104 pp. $1.

Multiple Dwellings

Multiple Dwelling Law—A Clarification. By Committee on Housing. New York 10, Community Service Society, 1945. 384 pp. $5.

Parking Meters

Parking Meters in Pennsylvania Municipalities. By Charles F. LeeDecker. State College, Pennsylvania, Institute of Local Government, 1945. 40 pp.

Planning

Action to Date. Highlights from Reports of Committees. Louisville 2, Area Development Association, 1945. 21 pp.

Planning Your Community. A Manual of Suggestions for Practical Community Planning. By C. Earl Morrow. New York 17, Regional Plan Association, Inc., 1945. 42 pp. 50 cents. (Special prices on quantity orders.)

A System for Classifying City and Regional Planning Materials. By the Institute of Local and State Government, University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, City Planning Commission, 1944. 39 pp.

Public Health

A Food and Nutrition Program for the Nation. Report by a Subcommittee of the Agriculture, Business and Labor Committees on National Policy. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1945. 35 pp. 25 cents.

Recreation

Places for Playing in Cleveland. Standards for Public Recreation Areas. Cleveland, City Planning Commission, 1945. 32 pp. Illus.

State Government

Governors' General Messages to State Legislatures in January 1945. By Louise H. Clickner. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1945. 17 pp.

Taxation and Finance

City Debt for the Fiscal Year 1943. (Volume 2, City Finances: 1943) By Josef Berolzheimer. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1945. 6 pp.

Governmental Finances in the United States: 1942 (Second Supplementary Extract from). Table Summarizing State and Local General-Government Finances by Type of Government. U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1945. 11 pp.

Local Government Finance in Pennsylvania. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Postwar Planning Commission, 1945. 42 pp.

New Sources of Municipal Revenue. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, *Municipal Finance,* May 1945. 36 pp. 50 cents.

Summary of State Government Finances in 1944. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1945. 8 pp.

Veterans

The Disabled Veteran. Edited by Wilma T. Donahue and Clark Tibbitts. Philadelphia, American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals,* May 1945. v, 237 pp. $2.

CITY SEEKS WAR-HOUSING CONTROL

(Continued from Page 331)

delegate the responsibilities of local planning to a federal agency. What happens to this community in the next quarter of a century is our responsibility, and we cannot see how any federal agency, no matter how brilliant its experts, can prescribe what is best for us.

The problem in Vancouver is unique only in its magnitude. In the Pacific Northwest housing authority commissioners have banded together to discuss this problem and they are united in the belief that local say-so is going to be the key to intelligent re-use of lands now federally owned. They plan to make the necessary approaches to Congress for legislation that will give local communities a chance to escape the permanent injury that certainly threatens.

PERILS OF A MILITARY GOVERNOR

(Continued from Page 328)

anybody having a gun at this time. The reason for the order that no other flag but the British and American flags could fly over a *Municipio* where there was an AMG officer was explained to him. By this time we were pals. He agreed to everything and even surpassed my greatest anticipation as to cooperation. The *Carabineri* got their guns back, a plan for disarming the *Partigani* was agreed upon, and the red flag was to come down immediately.

The parade of customers then started again. Can I have a pass to go to Sicily? I am a refugee from Tunisia, and I want a pass to go home. My father is in jail in Bologna. Can I have a pass to take him some food? And so on and so on—most of the answers are "no."

The Struggle for Water

The *Secretario Communal* (city manager—almost) was sent for. We had a heart-to-heart talk. He is able, intelligent, informed and professional as are most of the Italian communal secretaries. Incidentally, we can learn almost as much about communal administration from the Italians as they can learn from us, possibly more. I explained that I would hold him responsible as the administrative head of the city.

The city engineer came in with the engineer from the aqueduct with an armload of plans. Could they dig up a road to repair the aqueduct? When it was repaired the city could have water. Certainly! Why not? Well we thought that since there are tanks using the road the military might object. Tanks going over the road? Of course you can't dig it up. Do you want to get shot? But there are detours. Where is the road? We lose ourselves in the plans and maps and end up by going out to look at the road. There were no tanks since the night before. Would there be any that night? How was I to know? No one seemed to know where the headquarters of any military unit was. Everybody was on the move and moving fast. Can't you get water any other way? No. How long will it take to dig up the road? Two days. What! Two days to dig a ditch across this road and fill it up again? No, two days more to fill it up again. Ridiculous! It can all be done in four hours. Put every man in town to work on it if necessary. Start now and keep some guards here to show the detours to military transport, and have the whole job done by tonight or the town will have to go without water.

But that is impossible. We do not have the pipe yet. You do not have the pipe yet? Why that is the most scarce thing in all of Italy. But we think we know where there is some if we only had a truck and some gasoline. Where would I get a truck and some gasoline, with every unit on the move as they were? Get that German truck I saw the *Partigani* running around in. But we do not have permission to travel. You will get that immediately but do not start to dig until tomorrow morning and be finished with it all by noon.

On the way into the office I saw the red flag still flying. Into the

office of the *Partigani* leader I went and found there the same F.S.S. sergeant wrangling with him and the crowd hanging around inside and out of the office. He greeted me with, "Sir, that red flag is still up." I was embarrassed and angry. The *Capo* explained that he had sent someone to take it down but that the committee wanted to talk it over first before it was taken down.

Here I put on my number one mad act which includes yelling in a loud voice three or four times in my stupid Italian such nonsense as "I am the governor, the military governor of this city. In fact I am the government of this town for my superiors. There isn't any other government except that which I or my superiors through me dictate. When I give an order I want it obeyed immediately. Anybody failing to do so will be locked up or sent away." The red flag was down before I finished the speech and didn't go up again. That is, not exactly.

The New Secretary

That was about the finish of the first morning. The afternoon started with the appearance of my secretary. Yes, she was a *Partigani.* Yes, she was a Communist. Why? Because she thought she ought to be something and it seemed that Italy had tried about everything else. She had been specially trained in a Bologna school for secretaries and was professionally first class. If we eliminate the shorthand, typing and filing the Italian secretarial training has it all over ours. She couldn't speak a word of English but I did not have much difficulty in getting her to avoid dialect.

The water engineer came in again. If I would give him some kind of a note he could get the pipe and truck. You learn to never ask questions about things like this. They prepared the note and I signed it. You solve every problem in Italy when you do not know the answer by writing a note or signing one that somebody else has prepared, and of course always putting your rubber stamp on it. The latter is the most important. It is really astounding what the Italians can do with a note with your signature and stamp on it. How they do it you never ask because you know from experience that you will never really understand.

The parade then started again. Can I have a pass to move my furniture to Bologna? Why shame on you! Do you not realize there is not enough transport to haul food to your most unfortunate brothers and now you want to use valuable transport to haul furniture? I am an American citizen. Here are my papers. I always hated the Fascists. Oh how glad I am you came. Let me kiss your hand. How do I get back to the states? What part of the states are you from? Argentina!!! Can I have permission to slaughter my ox? It was critically wounded when it stepped on a mine.

The *Marascello* entered with another *Marascello* who had been locked up by the *Partigani.* It was all a mistake; he had really been a *Partigani,* so number one *Marascello* said. The problem, could he be released from jail? Yes I could release him from jail but I could not guarantee that he would not be

killed if he was a Fascist. I sent for the *Partigani* leader. He hadn't known the *Marascello* before but cross-examined him severely. The *Capo* had no use for anyone who had not been a *Partigani* before '43. The discussion got off into Bolognese dialect in which I was able to follow little. The *Capo* had my money, however. Finally, he said he had no objection to the man being released and he was sure that none of his people would disturb him, although the *Marascello* was a fake or feeble *Partigani*.

"We are escaped South African prisoners of war. We want to report, sir, and to see that somebody does something for this bloke who has kept us in his house for twenty months. He fed us and look at these clothes he has given us. We actually saw the Fascists hang and shoot everybody in other houses where prisoners were sheltered, even the little children, and burn the houses also, but this bloke treated us like his own sons."

The Food Situation

An American colonel studying the food situation in the area arrived. There was a discussion about the food problem. There was a mill that provided most of the flour for Bologna. Where was it? Was it in good condition? Was there grain in it? Could it be protected from troops, etc.? The *Secretario* was brought into the conversation. There were four thousand quintales of rice in a building nearby. The roof had been blown off by a bomb. If it was not moved all of it would be destroyed by the next rain. The colonel said he would get a truck. I explained that it would take one truck a long time, probably too long. "Don't fear, there will be more trucks." I had heard that story before.

Il Professore (chief doctor) of the hospital had to have curfew passes for his personnel. A civilian entered and said, "Here is a certificate from a hospital in Bologna that my child must have milk in order to live. Can I have a pass to take him some? Can you make the pass for military transport?" The *Secretario* presented the engineer responsible for the electricity. If he can go 30 miles north he can do something so that we can have electricity by tomorrow. Certainly, here is the pass. But he needs some gasoline. Where would I get gasoline? But he knows where he can get some if you will give him a note. He got the note without further questioning. The note is in English and is absolutely meaningless because I do not know how it is to be used, but since it will probably never be translated it doesn't make much difference what it says, for the time being.

The *Marascello* entered. He was alarmed. They found another one of the missing Fascists murdered. What should he do? I ordered everyone under town arrest to be locked up pending the disarming of all the *Partigani*. But where would he put them, the jail was already full? Find a place, that is your job. I may be able to find a place if you will give me a note.

Three American medical officers dropped in. "Where can we buy

some good cognac? You must come and have dinner with us." The two directors of the local banks stated that they had been operating all day. Were they supposed to close? Now let me see; what was that order about banks? As I remember, it was changed. Did you read the proclamations? Yes and there wasn't any mention of the banks. I guess they did change that order. Yes, you can stay open until I get further information but remember all Fascist accounts are blocked.

Two beautiful blondes came in. My secretary explained that their cards indicated *countessa* and *duchessa*. Their husbands had been taken away by the C.I.C. yesterday. They were never Fascists. They were never even written into the party. They were such good men. They did everything for the community. Really I haven't the slightest idea where your husbands were sent and I haven't even the slightest idea where the C.I.C. is. You must come to dinner tomorrow night. Thank you, but really I am so busy right now. Wait a week. It is a good system in AMG to postpone everything you are afraid of for a week or two. By that time you are usually in some other place.

No Rest for Weary

Please, *Governatore,* can I have a pass to go to Milano? Please, *Governatore,* my wife is going to have a baby. Can I have a pass to take her home to Sicily? When will the baby arrive? Any day now. Any day now and you want to start to Sicily on foot? But you can provide military transport. Your wife will have to have her baby here.

That night I planned on sleep. Dinner was finished at ten o'clock and I climbed into bed. At one I was awakened by shots being fired and a terrific pounding. In a half dream I was trying to figure out what it was all about when my driver called me. "Sir, there are two GI's outside trying to shoot the door down and the *Padrone* is scared." There was a terrific commotion outside. I went to a front window and found two very inebriated GI's kicking and knocking on the door and shooting in every direction with 45's. I supposed I should go down and place them under arrest. Then just what would I do with them if I did? It would mean I would probably have to stay up all night that night too. I did the usual thing and yelled at them in soldier-like language. They replied in Italian. I explained in Italian that I had been speaking in English. They had been told there was plenty of wine and women in this place and wanted to get in. Just what kind of a place was I staying in? I explained that it was an officers' billet and that if I came down they would be in for a lot of trouble. They left surprisingly sober.

The next morning I gave orders that I wanted the best house in town. It looked like rain. I called the *Secretario.* What could he do about finding covering for that rice in case it rained. He would see.

The water engineer had been running the water pump by gasoline. Where could he get some more? I called the *Secretario* again. Make out a list of all the commune's needs for gasoline including the ambu-

lances. The *Marascello* reported that the reputed Fascist *Marascello* had been rearrested by the *Partigani* and placed back in jail. The *Capo* was called. What was the meaning of this? "You told the *Marascello* and me to lock up all the Fascists or suspected Fascists under town arrest for their own protection."

Two war correspondents wandered in. They were investigating Fascist and German atrocities, activities of *Partigani* and also looking for news. That meant calling in the notable figures in town for them.

We Get Lights, Water

An old friend, an AMG officer, dropped in. He wanted lunch. He was trying to catch up with the Corps. He sat around while the flood of people came in to ask for this and that. "Why don't you use your buzzer system?" He had discovered that we had electricity. Electric lights and telephones in two days. What a difference from our experience south of the Appenines. I had not used a telephone in two years except the occasional military telephone.

After lunch the water engineer came to report that the water system was functioning perfectly. He had completed the job on the road that morning as I had ordered. I called in the directors of the banks. My friend the AMG officer had told me I was wrong, the old procedure still stood. The directors were told that the banks would have to close until further notice.

A young girl of about sixteen and her grandmother were ushered in. Could she bury her father? It turned out that she was the daughter of one of the Fascists killed the day before. Certainly, you can bury your father. But the *Partigani* will break up the funeral. No, nobody will break up the funeral. I will place a *Carabineri* guard on it. But the *Partigani* do not pay any attention to the *Carabineri*. The grandmother was wailing but the little girl was marvelous. Her bearing and demeanor could not have been better to win the respect of anyone. Then I will place a *Partigani* guard on the funeral. That would hardly be proper. After all, they killed my father. Yes . . . Hmmmm . . . well what do you want me to do? Write a note for me. I wrote a note: "This funeral shall not be disturbed or interfered with in any way." That was in English but she was happy and left. I then called the *Partigani Capo*. He would be glad to have a couple of *Partigani* trail the funeral at a respectable distance to see that there was no interference. I didn't have quite as much confidence in my note as did the little girl.

The *Sindaco* had started the clean-up program I had ordered. What wage-scale was he to pay the people who worked at removing the bomb and shell debris? I am an American citizen. How can I get some money from the states? I am a British citizen. How can I get some British rations? I am an escaped Russian prisoner of war. How do I get home? We are Turkish citizens. Can you send us home? The Germans requisitioned my truck but the *Partigani* have recaptured it. Can I take it away from them? The Germans left some money in one of the banks

when they left. Can I levy on it for the cattle they took from me?

It started to rain. I called the *Secretario*. How about that rice? Don't worry! It is all covered and safe. Yes we will have the best house in town for you tomorrow.

The *Sindaco* wanted to know what he would do for money to pay the employees now that the banks were closed. Tell the banks that I will authorize them to pay any account when you bring in a statement that the payment is necessary for the normal functioning of the commune.

I then met with the directors of the Italian equivalent of unemployment compensation and public assistance. There were a large number of unemployed and a large number of people not covered by any agency who were in serious circumstances. The agency's accounts were overdrawn at the bank and the Fascists had completely confused their administration before leaving. What laws and directives are in effect and what are not? I asked them to bring me a program the next day that would provide for at least emergency care for the indigent. Oh, if a welfare officer would only appear on the scene.

A "Bad Show"

The custodian of the combination post office and tax office reported that South African troops who had stayed in the post office the previous night had looted the entire building. I went and inspected the building and even I was disgusted. I found the officer of one unit. He agreed that it was a "bad show" but was certain that none of his troops would do anything like that. See the officer of the other unit that moved into town last night. I did. No, it couldn't be any of his men but if the Italians could identify any of his men I could be assured that severe disciplinary action would be taken. I told the Italians to file a claim and made out a report.

The Italian equivalent of our Chamber of Commerce met with me to discuss ways and means of getting the industries in the town functioning, and regulations regarding the blocking and unblocking of strategic materials.

A civilian came in with a receipt for twenty quintales of wood taken from him by some American soldiers. Could he get paid immediately? I looked at the receipt. It read, "This wood is going to blazes. Signed Mata Hari." You would think the boys would be more original. I saw the same wording over a year and a half ago.

An Indian soldier entered with an Italian civilian. Neither could speak English, and I still do not know what language they used to communicate between themselves. The Italian explained that the Indian company of which the soldier was a member hadn't had any fresh meat in a long time and wanted to buy an ox from him. Could he have permission to sell it? Yes, if the soldier would bring me a note from his officer.

The former Fascist director of health was brought in by the *Marascello*. He was very sick. Could he be transferred from the jail to the hospital? Certainly. The hospital has fixed up an apartment for me

so that I can bring my family to stay with me. What!!! You stay in the jail until two doctors certify that you are so ill you must go to the hospital, and then you will go to a bed and not to an apartment with your family. And by the way, *Marascello,* tell the head of that hospital I want to see him. They leave. My secretary and another person explain the doctor's criminal Fascist record to me and how he is the most hated and despised Fascist in town.

The president of the committee, the *Sindaco* and the *Secretario* want to know about the problem of transport. Who should requisition it, how should it be requisitioned, what types should not be requisitioned, who would control it after requisitioning and how, and what should the prices of transportation be?

The Army Sells a Horse

The *Marascello* brought in another civilian. This man had bought a horse from two soldiers. But the soldiers had given this man authority to buy and use the horse. There was the authority, it read: "This silly ——— thinks we are a couple of dumb ———. Please explain to him that he is the dumb ————. Signed, Two smart ———." I had no choice but to do what the soldiers requested.

An attractive girl entered to explain that she was never a Fascist but that there were people in town who did not like her. These malicious persons sent soldiers on the search for women to her house where they insisted upon entering. They shot in the air and made a terrible disturbance when they were refused admittance. Can you help me? Yes, I will put an "out of bounds" sign on the door. No—she did not like that because they put that sign on houses of prostitution and she was no prostitute. Would I write her a note? I wrote, "Notice to Allied Soldiers: There are no prostitutes in this house. This is a normal decent family. You have been directed here by people who wish to disturb them. Please go away without knocking." Silly. I didn't think it would work, but she was happy.

The president of the committee wanted to know if the commune could discharge all the women working for it and put men in their jobs as a partial solution to the unemployment problem. I replied with an emphatic "no" and added that there was no subject in the field of government on which I had a more positive opinion. If there is anything wrong with Italy it stems from the way it treats its women, how it wastes half its brain power.

The *Sindaco* and *Secretario* wanted to know if they could get the *Annonario* (ration cards, etc.) out of jail. He had been a strong Fascist but not a bad man. He was an excellent administrator and everything was in confusion without him. Yes, certainly. But if you let him out somebody might kill him. It is suggested among other things that a safe conduct note by me will be adequate. The confidence these people have in my notes amazes me.

A British Colonel dropped in looking for some Fascist Republican stamps for his stamp collection. An old-time Socialist and a short-time

Socialist came in to complain about the hair-cutting and other partisan disturbances in one of the *fractiones*. As the only man I can find I send the *Capo* to investigate. He disarms the *Partigani* in the *fraction* and stops the haircutting.

The *Marascello* and the *Partigani* leader meet with me. An order is prepared that any one found with a gun after tomorrow will be dealt with severely by a military court regardless of any previous service to the Allies and the Liberation movement.

That night I got some sleep. The next morning I left early for Bologna to see if I could get some action on food, gasoline and police for my communes. I found the confusion I expected. There seemed to be about five different military agencies, all of whom made some claims to be running the town or contributing to its confusion. No one could help me on police. No one knew for sure whom I was working for. No one knew where Corps was. The line was simply moving too fast. I did get a promise out of one supply officer to send me some fats, salt, sugar and gasoline if he could find some transport to send them.

There was nothing else to do but to go back to X and hope that the confusion would get straightened out quickly. After all, things were really in better condition in X than in any town I had seen before. I was beginning to love the town and looking forward to staying there for some time. That was a very dangerous attitude to allow myself. When things begin to work well and you get to like a place, that is the time when you always have to move.

I arrived at X just before noon. A British Lieutenant Colonel arrived half an hour later with orders for me to leave immediately to catch a team moving north to another province. I left within an hour without even saying good-bye. It is much easier that way. Saying good-bye to Italians even though you have worked with them only for a few days can be one of the most painful processes in the job of a civil affairs officer. The Colonel took over my confusion without the slightest explanation from me. He had been in the Army long enough to know not to expect explanations.

That Flag Again!

As we drove past the *Municipio* on the way out of town I commented on the absence of the red flag to my driver. "They did take it down, sir, but look where they put it. On the wall behind the balcony." "Well, I'll be ————, and I thought we had perfect understanding on that matter." "I think you did, sir. On second sight that isn't a flag, that just happens to be a piece of red cloth they have used to cover up the obnoxious Fascist plaque that is cemented into the wall." "Your observation is quite correct. It makes me happy. I guess they really did carry out the orders. There really was understanding."